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The Administration of Guernsey
by James Sleator

The Administrative Problems of building a New Town
by Richard S. McDougall

Helping the District Officer in India
by Haridwar Rai

BOOK REVIEWS
by Raymond Nottage, John Beattie, Ronald Wraith, Arthur Hamersley, Haroun Lugusha

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NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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Editor's Notes

WHILE the structure of central and of local government is the subject of scrutiny and the objective of reformers both in industrialised and in less developed countries, and while the democratic process at both levels is dominated in most states by one or multi-party systems, the Channel Islands remain an appanage of the British Crown where an ancient system of self government has continued almost unchanged over the centuries, free of party politics and where in effect local government is central and central government is local. The Channel Islands are divided into two separate entities, the Bailiwicks of Jersey and of Guernsey. It is with the administration of Guernsey that Mr. Sleator's article is concerned; proximity to Britain has facilitated the development of a major tourist industry, together with renowned dairy herds and horticulture, making the Islands prosperous and largely self-supporting. In these happy circumstances rarely to be found elsewhere, the unique system of administration, one not readily transferable elsewhere, certainly seems to meet local needs, and the fascinating account provided here may perhaps provide a lesson for other lands.

In contrast to the virtual independence of Guernsey, the New Towns of Britain established after the second world War "principally to encourage people to leave the large cities – heavily overcrowded and still growing fast and to find homes and work in the new towns," have been strictly Whitehall-tied. How this came about, the advantages and disadvantages involved and the problems created for the local authorities affected by their coming into being, are clearly set out by Mr. McDougall who as General Manager of Stevenage, the first of all New Town Corporations, for a decade, writes with the greatest of authority.

The Indian sub-continent with its vast population sets immense administrative problems and despite palliatives provided, still places an unduly heavy burden on the shoulders of the district officer. The situation in Bihar is the subject of Dr. Haridwar Rai's article and those whose experience lies in smaller emptier lands will appreciate the administrator's staggering task when he reads of an Enquiry Committee feeling that "a population of about a million represented as much as a district officer could handle, others that one and a half-million was about right, and most of them thought that two million was the outside limit!"

In comparison perhaps the problems of administration and leadership in East Africa, the subject of Mr. Warrell Bowring's article should be simple. Maybe they will be resolved more easily, but here again the geographical areas are great, the resources are limited, the political objectives are new, and political/administrative relationships are far from simple; the requisite administrative expertise cannot be gained overnight. No doubt, as suggested here, training institutions should give greater emphasis to personal qualities. But while book-knowledge can be absorbed and retained, it can only be on the job that the young administrators' personal qualities can develop and be proven.

Too little is known of local government developments in the Sudan and so we are glad to publish Dr. Sharma's article providing a picture of recent community development projects there and the relationship with local authorities that is involved.

A notable anniversary takes place on 15th February – the 97th birthday of the Rt. Hon. Lord Hailey, great administrator and public servant. On that day we propose to send the following greetings telegram on behalf of our readers:

"Please accept from readers, *Journal of Administration Overseas*, our warmest congratulations on the notable occasion of your 97th birthday".

* * *

An index has been prepared covering all articles published in this Journal since it was first produced as the Journal of African Administration in 1949 up to the end of 1968. Readers who would be interested in obtaining a copy of this index are asked to write to the Editor at the Ministry of Overseas Development, Eland House, Stag Place, London, S.W.1.

The Administration of the Bailiwick of Guernsey

By JAMES SLEATOR

Mr. Sleator is Senior Legal Draftsman, Guernsey.

It is perhaps a pity that the islands of the archipelago which lies to the west of the Cotentin peninsula are so frequently referred to collectively as the Channel Islands because that may suggest to those who are unfamiliar with the Islands that they constitute a political as well as a geographical unit. The contrary is the case because for the purposes of government they are divided into two quite separate Bailiwicks; the Bailiwick of Jersey and the Bailiwick of Guernsey. It is only with the latter Bailiwick, consisting of the Island of Guernsey (including Herm and Jethou) and the Islands of Alderney and Sark, that this paper is concerned.

It is desirable, before considering the details of the present system of administration in the Bailiwick of Guernsey, to say something of the constitutional position of the Channel Islands in relation to the United Kingdom and the remainder of the Commonwealth. The Channel Islands are not conquered or ceded territories, they are not part of the United Kingdom (though, as we shall see, some Acts of Parliament do apply to them) and their constitutions are not an experiment in devolution as in the case of Northern Ireland but are of indigenous growth. From the time of Rollo at any rate, the Islands were a parcel of the Duchy of Normandy of which Rollo was the first Duke. When William, Duke of Normandy, became King of England in 1066, the Islands as part of the Duchy became associated with the realm of England in the person of the Duke only, a position similar to that of Gascony until 1453. When continental Normandy was lost to the English Crown by annexation by Philip Augustus in 1204 the Islands did not then, or later, become part of the realm of England but went on to achieve local self government and separate administrations. Indeed even today the Islands' link with the United Kingdom and with the Commonwealth is through the Sovereign as the latter day successor to the Dukes of Normandy.

The Islands are to all intents and purposes self governing but though they have achieved a degree of independence far greater than that of a colony, they have never achieved Dominion status; Her Majesty's Government is still responsible, after consultation, for their external affairs. They may best be described as appanages of the Crown, a description which accords with the facts of history.

This paper is entitled "The Administration of the Bailiwick of Guernsey" and that compels me to define my terms. I propose to adopt Finer's[1] definition of administration as being "the governmental machine by which

[1] H. Finer, *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Methuen, 1961.

policy is implemented". Garner[2] has pointed out that that, however, introduces a difficulty of definition since a distinction has to be made between administration and policy and by the latter he means the formation of a general line or course of action. This difficulty, however, need not detain us in describing the administration of Guernsey because the States of Guernsey is not only the legislative and deliberative assembly of the Island responsible for determining policy but itself exercises, either directly or through its many committees, the executive functions of government.

There is no Government in Guernsey in the sense of a body of persons each of whom is a member of some political party which commands a majority in the legislature and whose members are jointly and severally responsible to the legislature for all decisions of policy. The Government is the States. The constitution of Guernsey concedes little to Montesquieu and indeed until 1948 the Royal Court, which had long exercised certain administrative powers and for that matter still does, continued to have a by no means limited power of legislating by way of Ordinance. That power was removed and transferred to the States by the Reform (Guernsey) Law, 1948.

Each committee of the States is responsible for formulating proposals which it considers should be the policy in relation to the area of government for which it is responsible and presents those proposals to the States as we shall see in a *Billet d'Etat*. The proposals are introduced by the President of the committee concerned and after debate the States formally resolve either to accept or reject the proposals. If the proposals of the committee are not accepted as the policy of the States, the committee concerned does not, in the majority of cases, resign nor is it expected to resign. The committees are simply the agents of the States except, of course, where discretionary power to take decisions is vested in them by legislation. Apart from proposals about policy the committees also have to refer to the States for decision many matters which arise in the course of their work, including anything which involves capital expenditure.

It is important to appreciate that the functions of government which the States exercise are not confined to those which local authorities exercise in the United Kingdom. The States are also responsible for those matters which in the United Kingdom are the concern of the central government. Thus, although the States Board of Health deals, amongst other things, with public health and the States Housing Authority with housing, the States Board of Administration administers legislation about merchant shipping, pilotage, air navigation and dangerous drugs, while the function of the States Income Tax Authority is self-evident. Apart from Hull and Jersey, Guernsey is the only place in the United Kingdom which operates its own telephone system, admittedly under licence from Her Majesty's Postmaster General. Negotiations are at present being conducted with Her Majesty's Government with a view to the States taking over the Post Office and running it themselves; this will be done by the States Post Office Committee. In addition to the telephone system, electricity and water undertakings are also owned and administered by committees of the States. The only public utility undertaking which is privately owned and administered is the Guernsey

[2] J. F. Garner *Administrative Law*, 2nd Ed. Butterworths, 1967.

Gas Light Company. The States provide the general hospital, the mental hospital and the maternity hospital as well as schools, mental and dental services. The educational system, including the employment of teachers, is the responsibility of the States.

As can be imagined the number of committees required to cover such a wide area of governmental activity is large; the number of permanent committees at present is forty-eight and, in addition, there are eight *ad hoc* committees appointed for a particular purpose. A list of the names of the committees is attached as Appendix "A". Perhaps the most important committee is the States Advisory and Finance Committee which in addition to performing certain of the functions of a treasury acts as a co-ordinating and advisory body and in the *Billet d'Etat* comments on the advisability or otherwise of the States accepting proposals put to it by other committees.

On the 28th February, 1968, the States, after debating a Report submitted to it by the States Civil Service Board Resolved as follows:—

"1. To set up a Committee with the following terms of reference—

(*a*) to examine the whole of the present operation of administration of States Affairs, including the apportioning of work between Committees and Departments, and to recommend what changes, including the merging of any Committees' functions or the setting up of new Committees, are desirable in the interest of efficiency and economy;

(*b*) to engage such assistance as it considers necessary."

That Investigation Committee is still sitting and has not yet reported.

The States meet in plenary session normally once a month, except in August, and each member has sent to him, at least ten days before every meeting, a *Billet d'Etat* which is a convening notice issued by the Bailiff who is the President of the States[3] and civil head of the Island, and contains the proposals made by the various committees and on which they require a decision of the States. Each proposal is set out in a policy letter addressed to the Bailiff who before including it in the *Billet d'Etat* sends it to the Advisory and Finance Committee for their comments. The Bailiff, of course, as civil head of the Island is very much involved in the administration and may himself place before the States such matters as he may consider necessary or desirable. On each set of proposals the necessary propositions are drawn up and those propositions when voted upon become Resolutions of the States expressing their corporate decision. Depending on what any particular proposal is, the Resolution may be sufficient to empower the committee concerned to implement what the States have decided, for example, to provide a new sewage scheme for a particular parish, to repair and improve sea defences or to build a new school, but more often than not, however, legislation is required to implement the States Resolution, for example, to provide a compulsory social insurance scheme. If legislation is required then the States resolve to direct its preparation and it is then prepared under the direction of the Law Officers of the Crown.

[3] A former Bailiff was asked to describe his Office in terms understandable to an Englishman, he said "If you take the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Lord Chief Justice and the Prime Minister, put them all into a half-pint mug, stir them up and look at the result through the wrong end of a telescope you will see something which resembles me".

The committees of the States meet frequently, some of the more important ones as frequently as once a week and spend a considerable time dealing with detailed matters. In many cases, of course, the President of the committee concerned is vested with the power of taking decisions and some Presidents are in daily contact with their departments.

A permanent secretariat is provided by the States of Guernsey Civil Service which now contains some seven hundred non-industrial civil servants apart from teachers, nurses and manual workers. They are divided broadly into four grades; principal officers, some of whom are the administrative heads of the various departments and others technical or professional advisers; staff grade officers who may be secretaries of the less important committees or deputy heads of more important committees; there is a higher clerical officer grade, a clerical officer grade and, of course, the necessary shorthand/typing and machine operator grades.

In view of the importance of the States of Guernsey not only as the legislature but also as the body solely responsible for the government of the Island, it is necessary to say something of its composition and the forms of legislation which it initiates. However, before turning to that topic reference must be made to Her Majesty's representative in the Bailiwick.

The Crown

Her Majesty's representative in the Bailiwick today is His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor who is appointed by the Sovereign by Royal Warrant and who normally holds office for five years. He is the official channel of communication between the States and the Crown, normally through the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and in any dispute between them would represent the views of the Crown whereas, as we shall see later, it is the Bailiff's duty to represent the views of the States. Unlike a colonial governor he has, except in relation to aliens, virtually no executive or administrative responsibilities or powers. He does, from time to time, sit in the States and may, by invitation, speak but he has no vote and cannot veto legislation. Prior to the Second World War when there was a garrison stationed in the Island he was also Commander-in-Chief of the Military Forces and, indeed, still retains that title.

The States

The States of Deliberation (not to be confused with the States of Election which is an Electoral College and has no legislative powers) is the insular legislature. It is a unicameral assembly and although the three categories of persons who compose it are elected differently they each have one vote and each vote has the same value. The origin of the States is obscure and cannot in anything like its present form be traced prior to 1605 though it can probably be said to have developed from the Royal Court (*Curia Regis*). Its present composition dates from 1948.

(*a*) COMPOSITION: The present composition of the States is contained in the Reform (Guernsey) Law, 1948, and is as follows:—

President: The Bailiff. He is appointed by the Crown and is the civil head of the Island and his traditional duty is to speak for the Island and to represent the views of the insular authorities to the Crown. He

presides over the States in which he has a voice and a casting vote and, as said earlier, he lays before the States in the form of a *Billet d'Etat* such matters as he is requested to lay before them by the various States Committees. As we shall see later he is also President of the Royal Court and President of the Court of Appeal and as such is now invariably a lawyer.

Conseillers: The Conseillers, of whom there are twelve, are elected by an electoral college called the States of Election which consists of the Bailiff, the twelve Jurats (see "The Judiciary") the twelve Conseillers, the ten rectors of the Parishes, the Law Officers, thirty-three Peoples Deputies and thirty-four Douzaine representatives. It is usual for the Conseillers to be chosen from persons who have served the Island for some time either as members of the States or in one or other of the parochial offices. They hold office for six years, six retiring every three years thus providing a degree of continuity between elections for Peoples Deputy. Although they do not sit apart from the other members of the States, although their votes have the same value as other members and although, unlike the House of Lords, they have no legal power to delay legislation or Resolutions of the assembly, because they are invariably elder statesmen the Conseillers as a body do exercise a restraining and stabilizing influence.

Deputies: There are thirty-three Peoples Deputies elected triennially on a parochial basis by persons, not being aliens, of full age (which in Guernsey is twenty years) and not subject to any legal disability provided they had their ordinary place of residence within the Island on the first day of October in the Electoral Year preceding an election. A candidate for the office of People's Deputy must have had his ordinary place of residence in the Island for the twelve months immediately preceding the date of his nomination as a candidate.

Douzaine Representatives: The Douzaine, or Parish Council, of each of the ten parishes into which the Island is divided elect annually a representative to sit in the States for the following year. They are required in the States to voice the opinion of their Douzaines but are free to vote according to their conscience.

The Law Officers of the Crown: H.M. Procureur (Attorney General) and H.M. Comptroller (Solicitor General) are appointed by Her Majesty by Royal Warrant and sit *ex officio* in the States where, although they have a voice, they have no vote except in the States of Election. In any dispute between the Crown and the States it is their duty to represent the views of the Crown. In normal circumstances, however, they act as Legal Advisers to the States. All criminal prosecutions take place in their name.

At their sittings the States are attended upon by H.M. Greffier (Clerk), H.M. Sheriff and H.M. Sergeant. Since the States of Guernsey may, as we shall see, legislate for Alderney on certain reserved matters two members appointed by the States of Alderney also sit in the States of Guernsey but are not restricted to speaking and voting only on matters relating to Alderney.

(*b*) LEGISLATION: There are two forms of insular legislation initiated by the States namely, Orders in Council and Ordinances. An Order in Council originates by the passing by the States of a *Projet de Loi* or Bill designed to implement a Resolution of the States. Such a *Projet* has no force of law until, having been transmitted by the Lieutenant-Governor to Her Majesty in Council, it receives the Sanction of the Sovereign. This Royal Sanction ratifying the *Project de Loi* is contained in an Order in Council to which is annexed the *Project de Loi* and a *Project* so ratified is commonly referred to as "a Law". The Order in Council is transmitted to the Royal Court through the Lieutenant-Governor and directs that it and the Law accompanying it be registered on the Records of the Island and be observed accordingly. The other form of legislation by which the States may implement a Resolution is called an Ordinance and Ordinances when passed by the States come into force immediately or on such other date as may be provided for therein, without reference to the Crown. It is by no means easy in theory, though relatively well known in practice in any particular case, to differentiate between what may be legislated for by way of an Ordinance and what by way of a Law. Certainly taxation cannot be imposed by Ordinance, the common law cannot be changed, nor can anything already provided for by way of Law be changed by Ordinance unless, of course, the particular Law gives that power specifically. One can perhaps broadly speaking say that Ordinances deal with matters of domestic good husbandry. To some extent the distinction depends on what has been done before, because if a particular matter has been legislated for by way of Ordinance in the past it continues to be so legislated for and the same is true in the case of Laws.

Lists of the Laws and Ordinances passed in 1967 are attached as Appendices "B" and "C".

The States of Guernsey may also legislate on any matter for the other Islands of the Bailiwick with the consent of the States of Alderney as respects Alderney and the Chief Pleas of Sark as respects Sark. It may also legislate on criminal matters for Alderney and Sark without their consent and for Alderney without the consent of the States of Alderney on the following reserved services namely: Airfield, Education, Health Service, Immigration, Police and Social Service.

A certain number of Acts of Parliament in which the Islands are named apply in their terms after they have been transmitted for registration by way of an Order in Council and have been registered by the Royal Court. The type of case in which this is done is where the Act by its very nature must apply throughout the British Islands, for example, the Post Office Acts, the Wireless Telegraphy Acts and the Army Acts. It is an academic point whether an Act in which the Islands are named applies even though it has not been registered by the Court. The almost invariable practice today when it is desired that an Act of Parliament should extend to the Bailiwick, is that the Act contains a provision enabling it to be extended by an Order in Council of Her Majesty with such exceptions, modifications and adaptations as may be required to make it effectively operate in the Islands.

The Judiciary

The Royal Court of Guernsey consists of the Bailiff who is President and

the twelve Jurats. The president of the King's Court in the Island was at one time the Warden but in practice the Court was invariably presided over by the Bailiff. Originally he was appointed and probably paid by the Warden. However, the Wardens were usually men of substance at the Court of the King or soldiers and were frequently absent for long periods. It is not surprising, therefore, that gradually the Bailiff acquired an independent position and eventually, after the long absence at the Crusades of Otho de Grandison who was Warden from 1277 to 1328, the office of Bailiff seems to have been established as an office in its own right and recognized by the King as distinct from the office of Warden. From 1278 onwards a Bailiff was appointed for each of the larger Islands.

The Jurats are today elected by the States of Election and hold office until the age of seventy though they may be granted an extension by the Royal Court up to the age of seventy-five. They are unable to retire from office unless an Order in Council is obtained and equally they can be removed from office by Order of Her Majesty in Council. Until 1964 the Jurats were judges of law as well as judges of fact but since they were not necessarily lawyers (indeed they seldom are) they were directed in matters of law by the Bailiff who, if the Jurats were equally divided, had a casting vote. Since the establishment of the Guernsey Court of Appeal the Jurats have become judges of fact only and thus have become, in effect, a permanent jury.

The Royal Court is divided into three divisions; the Full Court consisting of the Bailiff and not less than seven Jurats; the Ordinary Court consisting of the Bailiff and not less than two Jurats; and the Matrimonial Causes Division.

The Full Court has no jurisdiction in civil matters but has the power of trial and sentence in the case of all indictable offences. It also exercises certain quasi-judicial and administrative functions such as the granting of liquor licences and the registration of Orders in Council. A person convicted on indictment or summarily convicted by the Royal Court may appeal.—

(*a*) against his conviction on any ground which involves a question of law alone;

(*b*) with the leave of the Court of Appeal or upon the certificate of the judge who presided at his trial that it is a fit case for appeal, against his conviction on any ground which involves a question of fact alone or a question of mixed law and fact or on any other ground which appears to the Court of Appeal to be a sufficient ground of appeal;

(*c*) with the leave of the Court of Appeal against the sentence passed on his conviction unless the sentence is one fixed by law.

The establishment of the Court of Appeal was an important reform to the insular judicial system because until the 4th June, 1964, a person convicted on indictment by the Royal Court had only one course open to him, namely, to apply for Special Leave of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to appeal to that Committee. Such Special Leave was only given sparingly and only if it could be shown that there had been such a violation of the principles of justice that grave and substantial injustice had been done. The Judicial Committee repeatedly refused to act as a general Court of Appeal. In any event such appeal tended to be protracted and expensive and no provision was made for legal aid.

The Full Court acts as a Court of Appeal from the original criminal jurisdiction of the Magistrates' Court, the Court of Alderney and the Court of the Seneschal of Sark.

The Ordinary Court has original jurisdiction in all civil matters arising in the Island and has jurisdiction to hear appeals in civil matters from the Magistrates' Court, the Court of Alderney and the Court of the Seneschal of Sark. The Ordinary Court also has certain administrative functions and all documents relating to the creation and transfer of interests in or over land have to be executed before it. In certain circumstances there is a right of appeal in civil matters from the Ordinary Court to the Court of Appeal.

There is a Magistrates' Court which has summary jurisdiction in criminal matters and in civil suits where the amount claimed does not exceed £50; the Magistrate also sits as coroner.

There is an Ecclesiastical Court which grants Probate and Letters of Administration in connection with Wills of Personalty and sits to decide disputes about the interpretation of such Wills and over which the Very Reverend the Dean of Guernsey presides as Commissary of the Bishop of Winchester within whose diocese the Bailiwick lies.

Alderney

The insular legislature of the Island of Alderney, called the States of Alderney, consists of the President and nine People's Deputies. They have in Alderney the same power of legislating as the States of Guernsey have in Guernsey and in the same manner subject to the limitations which I have outlined above.

The Court of Alderney, which consists of a Jurat as Chairman, so designated by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and such other persons as may be appointed as Jurats by the Secretary of State, has a limited criminal and unlimited civil jurisdiction.

Sark

The Chief Pleas of Sark, which is the insular legislature, consists of the Seigneur, the Seneschal and the "Tenants" (of whom there are forty by virtue of the original Charter granted to the Seigneur of St. Ouen's, Jersey, by Queen Elizabeth I) and twelve People's Deputies who hold office for a period of three years. They have the same powers of legislating as the States of Guernsey but subject to the same limitations. The insular Court, called the Court of the Seneschal of Sark, as in Alderney has limited criminal and unlimited civil jurisdiction.

Both the States of Alderney and the Chief Pleas of Sark operate through committees as does the States of Guernsey.

To sum up, it is reasonable to say as a generalization that the Bailiwick of Guernsey is a microcosm of a national sovereign state subject to the suzerainty of the Sovereign of England with a partly federal constitution in which party politics have no place.

APPENDIX A

STATES COMMITTEES

AS AT

1ST JUNE, 1967

PERMANENT COMMITTEES

1. Board of Administration
2. Advisory and Finance Committee
3. Committee for Agriculture
4. Joint Guernsey-Alderney Advisory Council
5. Ancient Monuments Committee
6. Appointments Board
7. Arts Committee
8. Bailiff and Law Officers Salaries Investigation Committee
9. Bathing Places Committee
10. Cadastre Committee
11. Civil Defence Committee
12. Civil Service Board
13. Dairy Committee
14. Ecclesiastical Committee
15. Education Council
16. Electricity Board
17. Elizabeth College Board of Directors
18. Emergency Council
19. Board of Health
20. Horticultural Advisory Service Committee
21. Committee for Horticulture
22. Housing Authority
23. Income Tax Authority
24. Insurance Authority
25. Island Development Committee
26. Island Reception Committee
27. Labour and Welfare Committee
28. Ladies' College Board of Governors
29. Legislation Committee
30. Liberation Religious Service Committee
31. Lifeboat Committee
32. Military Service Committee
33. Passenger Transport Licensing Authority
34. Island Police Committee
35. Priaulx Library Council
36. Prison Board
37. Public Assistance Authority
38. Central Outdoor Assistance Board
39. Parochial Outdoor Assistance Boards
40. Children Board
41. Hospital Board
42. Stranger Poor Assistance Committee
43. Public Thoroughfares Committee
44. Sea Fisheries Committee
45. Telephone Council
46. Tourist Committee
47. Water Board
48. Post Office Committee

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

1. Accident Law Reform Committee
2. European Free Trade Association and Economic Community Committee
3. Fort George Development Committee
4. Gambling Investigation Committee

5. Non-Contributory Pensions and Outdoor Relief Investigation Committee
6. Subsidies Investigation Committee
7. Law of Succession Committee
8. Investigation of States Affairs Committee

APPENDIX B

ORDERS IN COUNCIL 1967

1. The Children and Young Persons (Guernsey) Law, 1967.
2. The Teachers' Superannuation (Family Benefits) (Guernsey) Law, 1967.
3. The Tourist (Amendment) Law, 1967
4. The President of the States of Alderney (Validation of Election) Law, 1967
5. The Motor Vehicles (Amendment) (Guernsey) Law, 1967
6. The Non-Contributory Pensions (Amendment) (Guernsey) Law, 1967
7. The Social Insurance (Amendment) (Guernsey) Law, 1967
8. The Office of Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey (Salary and Official Expenses) (Amendment) Law, 1967
9. The Duties Levied on Stone Exported (Repeal) (Guernsey) Law, 1967
10. The National Trust of Guernsey (Incorporation) Law, 1967
11. The Drugs (Prevention of Misuse) (Guernsey) Law, 1967
12. The Invalid Carriages (Sark) Law, 1967
13. The Housing Control (Guernsey) Law, 1967
14. The Ancient Monuments and Protected Buildings (Guernsey) Law, 1967

APPENDIX C

ORDINANCES OF THE STATES 1967

1. The Island Development (Guernsey) Law, 1966 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
2. The Paittacosis (Repeal) Ordinance, 1967
3. The Weights and Measures (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
4. The May and August Bank Holidays Ordinance, 1967
5. The Cremation (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
6. The Vehicular Traffic (Driving Test Fee) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
7. The Road Traffic (Speed Limits and General Provisions) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
8. The Liquor Licensing (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
9. The Poisonous Substances Ordinance, 1967
10. The Electricity (Amendment) (Guernsey) Law, 1966 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
11. The Pilotage (Guernsey) Law, 1966 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
12. The Pilotage Ordinance, 1967
13. The Public Markets, Slaughterhouses and Sale of Meat Regulations (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
14. The Safety of Employees (Ionising Radiations) (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
15. The Social Insurance (Increase of Contributions and Benefits and Miscellaneous Provisions) (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
16. The Teachers' Superannuation (Family Benefits) Ordinance, 1967
17. The Dangerous Drugs (Guernsey) Law, 1966 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
18. The Dangerous Drugs (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
19. The Dangerous Drugs (Guernsey) Law, 1966 (Modification) Ordinance, 1967
20. The Central Outdoor Assistance Board Regulations (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
21. The Tourist (Amendment) Law, 1967 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
22. The Alderney (Application of Legislation) (Teachers' Superannuation) (Family Benefits) Ordinance, 1967
23. The Control of Borrowing (Amendment) (Bailiwick of Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
24. The Motor Vehicles (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
25. The Prohibited Places (Dogs) Ordinance,1967
26. The Milk (Control) (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
27. The Glasshouse (Prescribed Maximum Area) Ordinance, 1967
28. The Horticultural Containers (Rates of Additional Duty) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967

29. The Liquor Licensing (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance, 1967
30. The Teachers' Superannuation (Family Benefits) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
31. The Alderney (Application of Legislation) (Teachers' Superannuation) (Family Benefits) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
32. The Non-Contributory Pensions (Implementation) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
33. The Alderney (Application of Legislation) (Non-Contributory Pensions) Ordinance, 1967
34. The Prohibited and One-Way Streets (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
35. The Vehicular Traffic (Motor Licenses) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
36. The Non-Contributory Pensions (Amendment) (Guernsey) Law, 1967 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
37. The Alderney (Application of Legislation) (Non-Contributory Pensions) Ordinance, 1967
38. The Social Insurance (Amendment) (Guernsey) Law, 1967 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
39. The Social Insurance (Amendments to Law of 1964 and Miscellaneous Provisions) (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
40. The Road Traffic (Bus Terminus) Ordinance, 1967
41. The Smallpox Vaccination (Guernsey) Law, 1965 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
42. The Smallpox Vaccination (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
43. The Alderney (Application of Legislation) (Smallpox Vaccination) Ordinance, 1967
44. The Public Health (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
45. The Alderney (Application of Legislation) (Public Health) Ordinance, 1967
46. The Children and Young Persons (Guernsey) Law, 1967 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
47. The Public Highways Ordinance, 1967
48. The Fishing (Amendment) Ordinance, 1967
49. The Social Insurance (Supplementary Reciprocal Agreement with Great Britain, Northern Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Island of Jersey) (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
50. The Prohibited and One-Way Streets (Amendment) (No. 2) Ordinance, 1967
51. The Non-Contributory Pensions (Additional Classes of Persons) Ordinance, 1967
52. The Alderney (Application of Legislation) (Non-Contributory Pensions) (Additional Classes of Persons) Ordinance, 1967
53. The Dog-Racing Ordinance, 1967
54. The Dangerous Drugs (Guernsey) Law, 1966 (Modification) (No. 2) Ordinance, 1967
55. The Drugs (Prevention of Misuse) (Guernsey) Law, 1967 (Commencement) Ordinance, 1967
56. The Drugs (Prevention of Misuse) (Exemptions) (Guernsey) Ordinance, 1967
57. The Housing Control Ordinance, 1967

The Administrative Problems of building a New Town in the United Kingdom

By RICHARD S. McDOUGALL

Mr. McDougall previously County Treasurer, Hertfordshire, has recently retired after completing 10 Years as General Manager of the Stevenage New Town Development Corporation. He has also advised the Governments in Sierra Leone, Nyasaland (now Malawi), Fiji and Kenya.

Soon after the 1939-45 War it became Government policy that New Towns should be built principally to encourage people to leave the large cities – heavily overcrowded and still growing fast and to find homes and work in new towns thirty or more miles away from these cities. It was thus hoped to reduce the population or at least to stem the increase of the larger cities – so swollen that travelling to work was taking a disproportionate part of a man's day and of his income.

Stevenage – the first of the New Towns was established in 1946 following the New Towns Act of that year and was planned thirty miles north of London on the railway and main road to the North.

The New Towns Act provided that new towns were to be built by Government sponsored Development Corporations wholly financed by the government, the members of which – at most nine people – were to be appointed by the government and to be answerable to and subject to directions from the Minister of Housing & Local Government. The latter being responsible to Parliament for all the deeds and faults of his Corporations.

At the time of writing there are 23 New Towns with a total population of well over 800,000 planned to grow by the end of the century to more than 2,000,000. Three more have recently been designated and there are six more in the preparatory stage.

What are the merits and demerits of this peculiar administrative set up? In their favour are firstly the limit of nine people as the governing body compared with the unwieldy number of members of local authorities. Secondly they have one task only, namely to plan and build a town – singleness of purpose is a great advantage. There is a great sense of urgency in their task. They have all adopted the General Manager system under which one person is responsible for co-ordinating the work of planners, architects, engineers, housing managers, lawyers, accountants, etc., and is directly responsible to the Development Corporation for the work of all departments.

Unlike most Local Authorities these Development Corporations are not political bodies, their members are appointed by the Minister of Housing & Local Government and are liable to dismissal or to direction by the Minister.

What then are the disadvantages of this system under which Development Corporations are given special planning powers and the right to compulsory purchase of land. It's the same old cliché – Rights carry Obligations. In the case of Development Corporations the rights are followed by considerable

obligations to the Minister of Housing & Local Government. It is of course the minister who creates the Development Corporations, appoints the Chairman as such and all the members. He is responsible to Parliament for all that a corporation does. In my ten years at Stevenage I can recollect only one field in which a minister disclaimed any responsibility for our decision. When we made an unpopular decision to raise the level of our house rents the minister said that this was entirely the responsibility of the corporation.

Corporations are required to submit revenue and capital estimates for the minister's approval. Each capital scheme needs detailed approval including a submission of plans and estimates. The Corporation's Master Plan needs the minister's approval and may, and frequently does, lead to a public enquiry. Many plans for smaller areas and indeed for individual buildings have also to be sent to Whitehall. Detailed control from the centre with all its delays and frustrations is there in stark reality. Plans, estimates, budgets and staff establishments have to be prepared three months earlier than would otherwise be necessary so that they may be examined in the ministry. The really big questions take a long time, far too long before decisions are made in Whitehall. During my ten years at Stevenage it was only for the first six months that I had a Master Plan to work to. We were building a town for 60,000 people. Soon a letter from the ministry came asking us to consider amending the plan so as to house 80,000 people. After that we were always either drawing fresh plans or preparing for yet another public enquiry or just waiting for a decision. Eventually and after I had retired the decision that we were to plan to house 105,000 in the town was made. There is a moral in this story which needs to be taught in all Planning Schools. When designing a town keep as many options open as you can and for as long as you can. This is perhaps another way of saying that plans should be flexible.

I mentioned earlier that one of the aims of the British New Towns was to ensure that work and homes would both be available in the same locality and that no longer would it be necessary to commute 10, 20 or even 30 miles to work. The Development Corporations therefore had the task of persuading industry to take sites and to build factories in the new town. In the early years of building Stevenage, this was exceedingly difficult, the corporation officials who were working in Stevenage in those early years still refer to those years as the "bended knee" period when it was necessary to spend so much time interviewing industrialists in London and trying to persuade them to move their factories to Stevenage. There were no guide lines at that time and no experience – one of the penalties of being the first new town – but gradually it became apparent that there were advantages for the industrialist to move to Stevenage.

There was plenty of room for future expansion, good homes were provided for workers, the construction of factories could be financed by the Development Corporation and above all else the workers would live near their work in a pleasant environment and long journeys to work would be eliminated with consequential social benefits and increased productivity. In Stevenage today there are over 18,000 people working in the industrial area and living no more than three miles from their work. The corporation have planned and built nearly twenty miles of cycleways, enabling workers to bicycle to and from work on specially prepared tracks free from the normal hazards of

using the roads. A substantial proportion of workers are able to go home at midday to eat as a family with considerable social advantage.

From what I have said so far it might be assumed that the only real difficulty experienced by Development Corporations is control by Whitehall. Far from it, a Development Corporation cannot build the whole of a New Town, but only factories, shops and houses and construct roads and sewers. Many other Agencies are involved in the building of a New Town. The local authorities operating in the area have a very important part to play in its planning and development.

The County Councils in England are the authorities for Education, Police, Fire and Ambulance Services, Libraries, Health, Welfare and Children's Services. They need to be consulted at all stages of planning so as to ensure that as the town grows the county services will be available. This imposes financial problems for the County Councils. I happened to be Treasurer of the Hertfordshire County Council in 1946 when Stevenage was started. This was soon followed by the designation of three more New Towns in Hertfordshire. In addition the London County Council was building two large housing estates in the County. In consequence millions of pounds had to be found to provide roads, schools, police, fire and ambulance services, libraries, health and welfare services. The County Council was in short required to embark on a huge capital investment programme running into millions of pounds for these three New Towns and two housing estates. The population was increasing very rapidly, proportionately faster than any other County in England, Hertfordshire was indeed an under-developed territory!

Capital expenditure on this vast scale had to be undertaken at a time when capital finance was difficult to obtain and some anxiety was felt by many members of the County Council, that this heavy programme of capital expenditure was depriving the rest of Hertfordshire of much needed improvements in services. Hertfordshire people were suffering because of the huge influx of Londoners. To some extent this anxiety was justified and at a time when the British Government was having to ration capital expenditure of local authorities, it was necessary to press for and to obtain a special allocation of capital finance for these authorities who were dealing with a rapid increase of population.

This dealt only with half the problem, a government allocation was not a gift to the County Council but merely a loan. Interest on and repayment of the loans (there were many) had to be met, extra teachers, firemen, policemen and social workers recruited and paid for. The result of this increasingly heavy expenditure was seen in the level of local taxation. Before 1948, Hertfordshire was in the enviable position of having the lowest or near the lowest level of local county rates of any county in England. In the ten years from 1948 to 1957 the level rose to the second highest in the country. Since then it has been falling and Hertfordshire is again happily in the lower half of the league table. Hertfordshire's heavy capital investment is now paying dividends. The great increase in taxable wealth in the county is largely due to the growth of industrial and commercial properties brought in by the New Towns. The importance of this point cannot be emphasised too strongly. If you wish to build a New Town make quite sure that it is planned to provide

industry as well as houses, not only will industry provide jobs for your inhabitants but it will also provide tax revenue of great significance.

In England there is a two tier system of local government, in all but the largest towns, and thus there is in addition to the County Council an Urban District or Borough Council responsible for the remainder of the local government services including sewerage, minor roads, refuse collection, playing fields, parks and many other minor services. There was a rather curious overlap in the New Towns Act, it gave the Development Corporations the right to provide amenities for the town at the same time leaving the District Councils with similar powers. This overlap in powers naturally led to some difficult situations and certainly in the early type of New Towns the local authorities were inclined to hold back in the hope that if they did nothing then the Development Corporations would provide the amenities from government monies. I have already stated that Development Corporations are wholly financed by the government. What more natural than that the local authorities should drag their feet in the hope, often realised, that if they waited long enough the government would pay. Development Corporations are responsible to the Minister of Housing and Local Government and are naturally most anxious to show him a thriving town, well provided with amenities. They are always in a hurry to produce results and rather than wait for protracted negotiations with the local authorities they sometimes cut the knot by getting on with the job. The minor authorities in New Town areas have therefore generally been able to keep their own local taxes in a minor key, in comparison with County Councils having New Towns in their areas.

A General Manager of a New Town Corporation probably spends at least half his time trying to persuade other organizations to carry out their share of the development of the town. I have already mentioned the County Council and the District Council the two authorities responsible for the local government services in the area, but there are many other organizations which have a part to play.

You cannot build a town without the help of many organizations supplying basic services such as electricity, gas, water, transport, telephones and postal services. Hospitals, doctors and dentists are needed as well as shops, cinemas and other places of entertainment. All of these organizations and projects absorb a lot of time in discussions, negotiations, persuasion and cajolery.

In Great Britain most of the basic services such as electricity, gas, railways and hospitals are provided by government agencies, each with its own separate problems of money and manpower. It could be supposed therefore that one government agency such as a New Town Corporation would have no difficulty in persuading another government agency to carry out its share of the development as and when needed. It's not as simple as it sounds. Each of these organizations works on a tight capital budget, and a new town is only one of its many problems. Despite immense goodwill from the officials of these nationalized industries yet one is often faced with delays and disappointments. Stevenage New Town is over 21 years old (it was designated as a New Town in 1946) and yet its hospital is only now under construction, and the building of its new railway station has not yet begun. In spite of immense efforts by planners to reach agreement on future proposals, Development Corporations still find themselves in conflict, sometimes in public on

the best way of providing services for the town. The Transport Authority may, for example, appear at a public hearing on the Corporations Plan, to oppose the lay out of streets which the former claim will increase unprofitable bus mileage and the latter claim will be safer and will save lives.

Sometimes the various strands of government policy are in conflict, this is perhaps not surprising considering the immense complexity of modern government.

A continuous but friendly battle between Development Corporation and the Board of Trade is inevitable when the former is required by the Ministry of Housing to persuade industry to move to the New Town to provide jobs for the inhabitants and to help shift population from the big cities. The latter is charged by the Government with the task of promoting industrial development in areas (principally in the North of England and in Scotland) of heavy unemployment. Before a factory may be built in any part of Britain an Industrial Development Certificate is required. These are issued by the Board of Trade.

The technical problems in planning new towns have been considerable, many of which were resolved by the planners and engineers without any previous guide lines. In the past, towns have grown usually slowly and generally in a haphazard way. The experience of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden Cities, both in Hertfordshire, Port Sunlight and similar industrial developments together with the teaching and wisdom of Ebenezer Howard, Frederick Osborn and others were of course invaluable, whilst the reports of the Reith Committee laid down the policy to be adopted and in the words of its Chairman the new towns were seen as an "essay in civilization" and the reports set standards of living conditions appropriate to that aspiration.

What were the principal problems? Perhaps the most important were the sort of houses people would wish to live in and the environment of those homes. In considering these problems we should remember that the first new towns were planned over a quarter of a century ago and are no longer new except in the sense of New College Oxford (1379) New York (1609) and New Zealand (1769). Standards of housing have changed considerably during these twenty-five years. Primarily people moving into a new town wanted a home – many had not had one before, they wanted a garden, and they wanted to live "in the country" and to give their children a better start in life than they themselves had found possible in overcrowded cities.

Gradually their views of good living conditions have become clarified and focussed. Few wish to live in tall flats, almost all require central heating, privacy, a well designed and furnished kitchen and two living rooms. Naturally they wish to have these amenities at a moderate rent. Latterly they have become more interested in their environment and in addition many of them are anxious to purchase their own homes instead of being tenants of the Development Corporation. Over the years therefore planners and engineers have been concentrating on these aspects of living. Stevenage was the first town in Britain to build an all pedestrian shopping centre where the motor car is banished to car parks on the perimeter and shoppers are free to wander in safety on the pedestrian streets. Now whole new neighbourhoods are being built where 10,000 people may walk to shops, schools, churches, etc., without crossing a road. The houses face on to footways and the garage

is in a service court at the bottom of the garden. Footpaths and cycle ways (freed from road intersections by means of underpasses) form a network of safety. Throughout the town the dangers of motoring are being reduced by the elimination of right hand turns on the principal roads (in Britain we still drive on the left) and the much greater use of dual carriageways.

The great growth in motor car ownership has created many problems. When the first new towns were planned the Government would not permit the planners to provide garages for more than 30 per cent of homes and only to build 15 per cent. Today new lay-outs for housing schemes provide for more than one car space per house. To go back on the early neighbourhoods today so as to meet the pressure for more garages angers the non motorist who sees the gradual encroachment upon grass verges, play spaces and allotments.

Most new towns have not been built on virgin land, but have been planned around existing small towns. The problems of dealing with the inhabitants of these existing small towns have not been small or easy. Naturally most of them objected to the coming of a new town to disturb their peaceful existence. The shopkeepers saw first their trade greatly increase with the growth of population and then a substantial falling off in turnover when the new shopping centres were built.

Latterly the old High Streets have needed modernizing, so as to cope with the enormous growth in motor traffic. This sometimes necessitates new road patterns, relief roads, roundabouts where previously there were village greens and almost inevitably the pulling down of a number of houses and shops. Small wonder that the old towners dislike these changes, but planners and administrators must look into the future, calculate the probable growth of motor traffic as scientifically as they can and try to ensure that the road pattern will prevent accidents and deaths on the roads and traffic jams and chaos. It is unlikely that a road system built to deal with a population of a few thousand people will be adequate for a town of 60,000 or 100,000. Preservationists can sometimes be myopic.

Perhaps some of the most interesting problems have arisen from the social consequences of importing large numbers of families from the big cities into a new and strange environment. Many of the new tenants did not immediately appreciate that it is impossible to provide in a small new town all the amenities to be found in a large city, nor did they expect, because they had not thought about it, that building vast numbers of houses quickly, produces seas of mud. Try as one will it is not always possible to ensure that street lighting, telephone booths, shops and bus services are immediately available and of course bus services cannot be as frequent as they are in large cities. Many of the commercial amenities such as cinemas, dance halls, restaurants, bowling centres cannot be negotiated until the town has grown to a certain size and some of the big multiple shops and certainly large all-purpose stores will not consider opening until the population of the town exceeds 50,000 to 60,000.

The population of a new town is abnormal in one sense. It is young married couples generally who move to a new town, either in search of a first home or because they are more adventurous, or because they have no problem of removing children from an existing and well loved school. The consequence

of this "imbalance" of age structure is that the birth rate is much higher in a new town than in a normal city – many new towns have birth rates per thousand, twice the national average, not because new town dwellers are healthier than normal (although they are) but because the great majority of women in a new town are in the child bearing ages.

The higher birth rates in new towns result in a huge bulge in child population and later in a very high proportion of teenagers, although in the early years of a new town there is a very low proportion of teenagers.

The Administrative and social problems created by this phenomenon are many. For the Education Authority it means the provision of more school places in each neighbourhood in the early years than appear to be necessary later on. Then there is the need for more nursery schools and play spaces than will be required when the proportion of young children reverts to normal, as it will. A few years later comes the teenage problem. There are three angles to this problem. The first need is for places of amusement, sports grounds, youth clubs, swimming pools and last but not least Colleges of Further Education. The local authorities and development corporations are busily grappling with these needs and on the whole are using imagination and drive in meeting these demands. The second angle to the problem is the provision of employment for a disproportionate number of teenagers. There is a limit to the number of learners which any factory can employ, because learners usually need more supervision and instruction than is normal. The encouragement of considerable office development and professional offices is a help. As the new towns grow they tend to become regional centres for office development and Corporations are right to encourage this tendency. The third angle to the problem is the provision of houses for teenagers when they marry. It is assumed that at least half of the teenagers and probably more will wish to live and work in the town where they grow up. Naturally statistics on this point are scant as yet, but it is important for development corporations to keep careful records and to make proper allowance for this in their population forecasts.

There is of course a general social problem in all new towns, it springs from the obvious truth that in any new town there are always a higher number of new people for the size of the town than are to be found in a normal town of the same size. There may therefore be a larger proportion of lonely people (the non mixers) than usual. This has not always been understood by our critics.

Most, if not all, Corporations employ a Social Development Officer who with a staff help in every way possible to develop social cohesion, to meet the wishes of the town for new clubs, societies and town or neighbourhood activities. Community Centres of all shapes and sizes have been provided and clubs, discussion groups, dances, youth meetings proliferate – everything from Bingo to Bach. These all need voluntary workers to help to organize and to run them. This is where a new town probably has the edge. Although there are as yet fewer retired and elderly people in new towns than in a normal town, yet the social and professional workers who come to live in a new town do so generally because they see it as a challenge to do so. Thus the quality of teachers, health visitors, housing managers and corporation officials

is high and they devote a lot of their otherwise spare time in assisting with or running many of these voluntary organizations.

The Development Corporations see their role in the social development of a town as an organization which stimulates the formation of clubs, societies, etc., but not as an organization to manage and run them.

The financial structure of new town corporations is reasonably simple. The whole of its capital finance comes from the British Treasury via the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. It is provided by way of loans, all repayable over 60 years. Each year Corporations are required to submit both capital and revenue estimates for the Minister's approval and to submit an annual report and accounts for the Minister to present to Parliament. In addition, each capital project must go for careful scrutiny in the Ministry and probably also to the Treasury.

Those who are familiar with Parkinson's Law will understand why I doubt whether it is more difficult or time consuming for say the Electricity Generating Board to get financial approval for a new generating station costing millions of pounds than it is for a development corporation to get financial approval for a neighbourhood shopping centre. Perhaps because of this careful scrutiny Corporations are now becoming financially successful. Building small houses for letting is not expected to be profitable, but Corporations are required to keep their Housing Revenue Accounts in balance except apparently in Scotland where traditions of low rents for municipal housing die hard.

Taken as a whole the 25 new towns including those completed and transferred to the Commission for the New Towns (a sort of holding company) are now, after paying interest and instalments on all loans, making a profit for the Government of about £700,000 a year. These figures are published by the Town and Country Planning Association and are stated to be "after adjustments for interest before fructification". So these new towns are profitable and likely to be much more so as they mature and industrial and commercial leases are renewed at higher rents. Sir Henry Wells the Chairman of the Commission for the New Towns has described them as "Gold mines of the future".

How are the new towns regarded? They are visited by thousands of visitors a year, especially by planners, architects, engineers and sociologists from all over the world. The editor of *Town and Country Planning* has described them as "an outstanding achievement – one of Britain's very greatest". Bertil Fulten, chief planner for the region of Gothenburg, Sweden said: "Not only in the matter of good housing conditions, but also in those of good contact between home and work, good contact between home and the surrounding farmland, a well balanced shopping centre, etc., the British New Towns are far ahead of anything similar to be seen anywhere in the World". One more quote – Sturm Regel, regional planner for the Ruhr, Germany, "The English people have successfully tackled the solution of the greatest town development of our times."

Lest I should as it were, become swollen headed at the achievements of our new towns I like to remember the experience of the 20 year old daughter of a friend of ours. Endowed with an above average degree of initiative and a rich uncle she toured the world alone. In Sydney, Australia, she worked

for a while as secretary to a famous architect and town planner. "How lucky you are to live only 12 miles from Stevenage New Town" he told her. "I didn't dare to tell him" she said "that I've never seen the blooming place."

What are the social gains from this great experiment. These are difficult to evaluate and firm statistics hard to come by, but an attempt was recently made in Stevenage to make statistical soundings. These seemed to indicate that compared with Britain as a whole street accidents and crime are well below average, health and industrial productivity are well above average, more children voluntarily stay on at school after the statutory leaving age than almost anywhere in the country and *pro rata* more juvenile books are issued than in any other town in England. In its first ten years, the College of Further Education has twice been enlarged. In all the new towns much thought and money has been lavished on landscaping and for example, about 20,000 trees and shrubs are planted every year in Stevenage. Until these trees have grown to full height and matured it is impossible to discern the full impact which they will have.

Similarly with this great social experiment, not until the babies born in the new towns have grown up, married and produced their own families will it be possible to see whether the efforts which have been put into the task have been worth while. But so far the omens are favourable and to put it at its lowest, nearly a million people are already living in the new towns in better conditions than would otherwise have been possible.

Helping the District Officer in India

By HARIDWAR RAI

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Increasing Workload

An incessant increase in the range and variety of the district officer's work and a steady decline in his effectiveness as local agent and area co-ordinator of the government have been serious features of contemporary district administration in India. An examination of the records[1] shows clearly the startling increase in the paperwork to be dealt with at district and sub-division offices in Bihar, and a corresponding increase in the subordinate establishment under the district officer.

It is not of course merely in the volume of correspondence "in" and "out" that the district officer's workload has increased – it has multiplied in every direction, particularly as a result of government's policies for comprehensive rural development. A good number of government employees, both gazetted and non-gazetted, have been recruited to carry out these new activities, without, however, absolving the district officer of his ultimate responsibility for the efficient working of the whole development organization in the district. Every addition to the district staff enhances his workload, inasmuch as he has to control and supervise larger numbers of offices and employees. Even the creation of such offices as are not directly under his control has a direct bearing on his total workload. Very trivial items of work, such as residence certificates, political sufferers' certificates, political sufferers' relief grants, caste certificates, verification of antecedents and the like have to pass through his hands. It is also common knowledge that any enquiry by a department of government is generally routed through the district officer, and if any department seeks to sponsor a scheme, his views on the subject are sought and are given due weight, because he is always the central element in its successful implementation.

The correspondence work in major offices of the Collectorate has more than trebled since independence.[2] Despite delegation to subordinates there is much correspondence that he has to deal with personally and he is directly responsible for the working of the confidential section.[3] An immense increase has resulted from the responsibility of the district officer for writing annual confidential character rolls of both gazetted and non-gazetted

[1] (*a*) *The Slacks Committee Report*, 1906.
(*b*) Report by N. Baksi, I.C.S., on his enquiry 1948–49 into administrative boundaries (not published).
(*c*) *Collection of Papers relating to the Re-organization of District and Sub-divisional Offices* (Patna, Superintendent, Secretariat Press, 1959).

[2] Source—District Officer Patna's Report (unpublished) prepared for the State Government, 1960.

[3] *Ibid.*

employees of government working in the Collectorate – an 800 per cent increase in volume since independence.[4] Besides his own staff, he records the confidential character rolls of gazetted and non-gazetted officers and field staff of such allied offices as the District Industries Office, the Excise Office, the Registration Office, the Supply and Control Office, the Police, etc., which are under his administrative control though they do not form part of the Collectorate establishment. Further, he is responsible for initiating the confidential character rolls of the district heads of such departments as Development, Education, Electricity, Gram Panchayat, Health, Irrigation, Local Self-Government, Public Health Engineering, Public Works and Welfare. If this task is to serve any useful purpose at all the district officer must be acquainted with the functioning of these departments in his district, both by personal conference with their heads and also by inspection of their work in the field and offices.

In the area of case work, it was hoped that his work would appreciably decrease in consequence of the separation of judicial and executive functions in the district. It was also believed that the appointment of an additional collector would reduce his case work in revenue matters. And, yet his case work is on the increase rather than on the wane in respect of criminal miscellaneous cases, revenue remission cases and also on account of passing bills of public prosecutor and government pleaders. With the separation of judicial and executive functions his jurisdiction for hearing criminal appeals from the second and third class magistrates disappeared, and this gave him slight relief for some time. But this was soon more than offset by increase in other sectors of his case work. Since the introduction of land reforms, he hears appeals against the fixation of fair rents, decides some types of revenue cases and hears appeals in settlement cases, etc. His work in land encroachment cases has likewise increased and in respect of land acquisition proceedings, the number of notifications and orders that he signs has multiplied six times.

The most important element which has contributed to a big increase in his field and office work is the launching of development programmes, the establishment of an extension service organisation in the district and the establishment of village panchayats. He now co-ordinates the development and welfare activities of numerous departments working in the district and inspects the field and office work of block development officers.* An increase in his workload in the developmental sector can be imagined from the following functions for which he is responsible:—

inspection of the block administration;
comments on the progress reports of the blocks;
sanction of development schemes after examination;
presiding over block development committee meetings;
surprise field inspection of the work of village level workers and other field staff;

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[4] *Ibid.*

* *While the District Officer is of course senior to the B.D.O. in the service of the State, the latter in his capacity as Executive Officer to his Panchayat Samiti is responsible to the Chairman and elected members of that local authority and must carry out its decisions.*—Ed.

review of the work of block development officers on development projects;

review of the inspections made by various district and sub-divisional heads of technical departments, sub-divisional officers and the block development officers;

attending periodical meetings of the block development officers, the district heads of development departments and the district development committee at the district headquarters;

attending the divisional conference of divisional heads of development departments; and

review of work of all development departments at the district level.

The district officer inspects a growing number of offices at headquarters and at the *mufassil* (sub-district) stations. It is, however, found that the number of such offices has increased so rapidly since independence that it is difficult for one man to inspect them with the reasonable frequency needed if he is really to know what is going on and to provide the supervision required. Besides, he has to inspect police stations, district board offices, municipalities, gram panchayats, educational institutions, dispensaries, and the like which have also multiplied considerably. Generally he should inspect these offices once a year, but this is no longer a physical possibility. He will either inspect vicariously or will inspect a small number of offices chosen by his subordinates for their own reasons. He has to be generally contented with examining and reviewing the inspection notes recorded by other inspecting officers and district heads of various departments.

The two important ways in which he exercises control and supervision over the work of his subordinates and subordinate offices are: (*a*) the system of control by returns and reports, and (*b*) the system of control by inspection. The system of control by returns is not an effective one. In the first place, it is difficult to check the accuracy of so many returns drawn up by the lower grade assistants concerned and they generally have to be accepted as they stand. Besides, these returns cannot explain how work is done. They may, in a confused and lame fashion, tell of the quantity of work done, but whether ill or well, they cannot show. And, above all, the number of returns and reports has increased manifoldly with the abolition of *zamindaris*[5] and the inauguration of development programmes. An over-burdened district officer has little time to wade through a sea of papers to acquaint himself fully with the state of the district administration in all its aspects. This system of impersonal control has, therefore, to be supplemented by a system of personal inspection for which also the district officer has inadequate time at his disposal, as already stressed *supra*.

For some years now much of the district officer's time has been spent attending meetings of diverse committees which have more than doubled since independence. The following are some important committees whose meetings he must attend:

The District Development Committee.

The District Irrigation Committee.

[5] Bihar was one of the Indian States in which the Zamindari system operated. Zamindars, originally Government agents, acquired both land and powers over the years and in particular were rent collectors in respect of "their" tenantry for whose government taxes they became responsible.

The District Anti-Corruption Committee.
The District Relief Committee.
The District Legal Aid Committee.
The District Harijan Welfare Board.
The District Stipend Award Committee.
The District Education Planning Committee.
The District Education Buildings Committee.
The District Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Board.
The District Bharat Sewak Samaj.
(Voluntary non-partisan Organization of public spirited citizens, active against corruption).
The District Jail Purchase Committee.
The Regional Transport Committee.
Monthly Divisional Conference of the Heads of Divisional Development Departments.
The Block Development Committee.
The Site Selection Committee.
The Civil Defence Committee.

The district officer is generally requested to be either chairman or member of one or more educational institutions in his district so that he can give them financial advice and general encouragement. What is still more important is the wide-spread belief that if anything has gone wrong in a government department in the district, the district officer can get it right or if anything has got jammed in the official pipeline somewhere, he can have it straightened out. Consequently, the number of callers who include local members of the legislature, of co-operatives, of political parties, etc., seeking his intervention and requesting his help is very great and his working day usually exceeds eleven and sometimes exceeds thirteen hours of duty, in the districts of Patna division.[6] His daily routine includes such items as case work, correspondence, meetings with officers and press conferences, interviews with the public and politicians, inspection of headquarters and *mufassil* offices, reception of V.I.P.s and the like. Besides, the increase in the number of gazetted and non-gazetted employees in the district has entailed an increase in his staff work dealing with leave, transfers, postings, assignments and discipline. Also, there are certain items of district work which have rapidly increased in recent times, and which the district officer alone must perform, these include remission of criminal case fines, countersignature of bills, sanction of relief schemes, disbursement of political sufferers' grants, passport applications, assembly questions, disbursement of Ministers' discretionary grants, personal inspection of riot-affected places, etc. To him alone the government refers all complaints and enquiries against gazetted officers working in the district and about any recrudescence of communal or agrarian riots. The number of such enquiries has rapidly increased with the abolition of *zamindaris*, the launching of welfare activities, the working of the democratic political process and the like.

An active district officer has to work very long hours and if he is sincerely interested in keeping himself well briefed with the problems of his district,

[6] This information was obtained from the office of the divisional commissioner, Patna, and was substantiated by interviews.

there is no difference between a working day and a holiday! When his normal routine is disturbed owing to some emergency or some special assignment, such as floods or fires or the arrival of V.I.P.s, he is compelled to put in additional hours of work to dispose of the accumulated arrears of work[7]. This concentration of government business at the level of the district officer results in abuse of "the commodity in shortest supply" in India, in particular, the very scarce resources of administrative ability. He has little time to reflect upon the implications—political, social or economic —of an administrative action or to act in terms of the totality of the administration of the district, so absorbed is he in petty details of various segments of the district administration. Of no less consequence is the lack of sufficient administrative experience among district officers, most of whom are young with only short service behind them. This had led to loss of enthusiasm and initiative on the part of officers in the traditional and development departments, who constantly write to the district office for guidance on a wide variety of administrative matters. This has created difficulties of communication and understanding, has engendered poor superior-subordinate relationships and is largely responsible for delays, inefficiency, unresponsiveness and lack of co-ordination which characterise the contemporary district administration.

Remedies and Expedients

Several expedients have been adopted and suggestions made from time to time to reduce the workload of the district officer and to reorganize his office so as to give him much needed relief. These are examined in the following paragraphs.

(1) *Decentralization and Deconcentration*

Under this category some local authorities and deconcentrated administrative units. Originally the twin objectives that the local bodies were designed to secure were: (*a*) to serve as schools of political education, and (*b*) to act as concessions to the growing volume of Indian nationalist opinion which was pressing for a share in the administration of the country. The first objective, however, was never seriously pursued by the colonial government and when local bodies were formed, district officers began to treat them as a "practical method of meeting some of the manifold needs of their charges."[8] They came to be used by the local administration for the construction of roads, schools and dispensaries and became agents and assistants of the district officer in the management of the duties which formed his personal responsibility. After the introduction of dyarchy, local bodies were invested with larger powers and greater autonomy, the range of their functions considerably expanded and covered primary education, roads, bridges, dispensaries, and the like. Even if they were not intended either initially or subsequently to share the responsibility of the district officer, by the very fact of their existence in the district, they discharged a

[7] See Haridwar Rai, "Co-ordination of Development Programmes at the District Level with Special Reference to the Role of the District Officer in Bihar," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1966, pp. 55–57.

[8] Hugh Tinker, *The Foundations of Local Self-Government in India, Pakistan and Burma* (London, Athlone Press, 1954), p. 335.

fairly large portion of the total functions that previously belonged to him and had been his exclusive responsibility.

These local institutions were the first important concessions to the highly centralized colonial administration in India. Coming primarily as units of a deconcentrated system, operating in the main for the convenience of the government, they became units of local self-government and were a useful means of providing for politicians a field in which they could operate actively.

After independence, these bodies were invested with still greater autonomy and a wider sphere of responsibility which marked a big step towards devolution. The development of the Indian administration has, therefore, gradually proceeded from concentration-cum-deconcentration to decentralisation, the last phase of this process having come about only after the passing of the *panchayati raj* legislation. This policy for developing local self government should lighten the workload of the district officer by devolving upon the (still comparatively new) bodies the work of development which, under community development and national extension programmes, have previously been his personal responsibility. Meanwhile, village panchayats are already being entrusted with the task of revenue collection and mutation work.

Another administrative development for lightening the district officer's burden has been the creation of smaller territorial units of general administration in the district. This has done much to relieve the district officer of detailed work which would otherwise have overwhelmed him. It was on this ground that the Decentralization Commission recommended the development of the sub-divisional system.[9] The *anchal* or circle system in Bihar is also a step in the same direction. The work of the district officer in respect of law and order, revenue administration and of late, development administration, would have been much beyond the physical capacity of one man if there had been no such smaller territorial divisions with area administrators like sub-divisional officers and circle officers placed in charge of them. The First Five-Year Plan laid emphasis on the creation of smaller administrative units inside the district, particularly sub-divisions, so as to relieve the district officer of much routine work.[10] Unfortunately there has been no general implementation of this policy.

The two-fold purpose of smaller divisions of a district in the past may be said to have been: (*a*) to implant the authority of a foreign government in the countryside so that law and order could be maintained and revenues of all sorts could be effectively collected; and (*b*) to keep government officials near the people so that the government might be kept in touch with the socio-economic conditions and with public opinion. After independence, the motive has undergone a change. Now the smaller divisions of districts are effected with a view (*a*) to taking the government to the people by reducing the administrative distance so that their needs can be better attended to; and (*b*) mobilizing their co-operation and initiative for the implementation of various development programmes. Its indirect effect on the district

[9] See *Report of the Royal Commission Upon Decentralization in India*, Vol. I. (London, H.M.S.O., 1909) para. 554.

[10] See Planning Commission, *The First Five-Year Plan* (New Delhi, 1953), p. 132.

officer has certainly been a considerable reduction in his routine work, though his work in respect of supervision, inspection and co-ordination has increased. This process of decentralization is part of what is known as the system of deconcentration. Even if one of its objects was, in the beginning, to strengthen the authority of the colonial government by placing its officers in charge of lower territorial units, its indirect effect has been the creation of a large number of centres of field administration in the district.[11]

(2) *Additional Assistance, Delegation and Divestment*

Another device which has been designed solely with the purpose of reducing the workload of the district officer is what is called in "officialese" the system of additional assistance. This device has been frequently resorted to in the past and the creation of the posts of joint magistrates and additional district magistrates has been a part of this expedient. These officers were specially vested with the powers of a first-class magistrate and were intended to share the case-work of the district magistrate so that the latter could devote his time to more important aspects of the district administration. Now with the separation of executive and judicial functions virtually complete, the case work of the district officer in exercising criminal jurisdiction has almost come to an end, with their erstwhile appellate functions taken over by assistant sessions judges. Subject to the approval of the divisional commissioner, the district officer has still power to allocate any duties to the additional collector that he may consider fit including the administration of criminal justice,[12] though in practice this does not happen. He does however retain "executive magistrate" functions under the Criminal Procedure Code, dealing with its "preventive" sections, and this takes up a considerable amount of time.

In the revenue field also, an elaborate scheme of assistance was worked out by the government in the wake of the abolition of ***zamindaris***, so that some of his revenue functions could be shared by his revenue subordinates. The Bihar land reforms law also vests the additional collector with the power of a collector and in regard to the exercise of this power, he works under the supervision and control of the district officer. Likewise, land reforms deputy collectors and circle officers have also been vested with the powers of a collector under the same law. Bihar is perhaps the only state where the assistance of such an experienced official is placed at the disposal of the district officer. It is hoped that if he is made responsible for exercising the full powers of a collector under the various codes and manuals of the department of revenue, unless in any particular case it is considered inexpedient to do so, the work of the district officer will be considerably reduced. It is also suggested that if the additional collector is permitted to correspond with the divisional commissioner and even with the government in respect of matters under his direct charge, the utility of this office will

11 cf. Brian C. Smith, *Field Administration: An Aspect of Decentralization* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), pp. 1.10.

12 For a detailed discussion on the implications of the separation of judicial and executive functions of the district officer, see Haridwar Rai, "The Separation of Judicial and Executive Functions of the District Magistrate: An Aspect of the Criminal Administration in a District in Bihar," *Journal of the National Academy of Administration*, Mussoorie, Vol. XI No. 1, pp. 1–22, 1966.

will be greatly enhanced and will help to reduce the unnecessarily heavy burden that the district officer is carrying.[13]

Another sector of his work in which an expedient has been devised to help him is development and planning. When the development programme first began, the district officer had to shoulder development work with his existing staff. The additional collector used to help in development work in the same manner as he did in the revenue field. But it was found that the revenue work of the additional collector was very heavy, and therefore, the government decided to empower the district officer to select "a competent, energetic and sufficiently experienced deputy collector" to assist him in development work.[14]; This officer, designated as district development officer, was put in charge of all correspondence work and other office duties relating to development work. Subsequently, his status was raised to the rank of additional collector and his powers were increased. Now, it is his duty to inspect the offices and field work of block development officers and village level workers in the district and to keep the district officer fully posted with the progress of development programmes. He has, therefore, to keep himself in constant touch with the various heads of development departments in the district and he works as the counterpart of the additional collector in the field of development administration.

Another officer who has been appointed to assist the district officer in the discharge of his day-to-day work is his personal assistant. His duties are of a routine nature which include the opening of all *daks* (routine correspondence) not addressed to the district officer by name, and, the putting up of important letters to him for perusal, distributing the rest to the officers concerned. He sorts our reminders from government and the commissioner, submits correspondence with draft replies prepared where possible. He also assists the district officer in dealing with confidential correspondence. In particular, he maintains registers of Assembly and Council questions and examines them every two or three days to ensure prompt despatch of replies. He helps the district officer in the reservation of rooms in the circuit house and the allotment of the staff car, and also assists him in relation to his duties as chairman or member of official and semi-official committees by preparing agenda or memoranda for the meetings, issuing notices, preparing draft minutes of the proceedings of the meetings, etc. If the district officer so desires, the visitors and interview-seekers may first see the personal assistant who can, where appropriate, direct them to the departmental officers who are in a position to redress their grievances without any specific directions from the district officer. It is also his duty to pursue points mentioned in the district officer's inspection reports on various offices which call for action.

There are, however, sceptics who suggest that "the inter-position of a gazetted officer between the district officer and the people will impair that direct access to the former which is considered so necessary," and fear that "the personal assistant would be resented by the district officer's principal deputies, who would suspect him of screening the submissions made by

[13] See Government of Bihar, *Report of the Bihar Pay Revision Committee*, 1961, Vol. I (Patna, Secretariat Press, 1964), pp. 267–68.

[14] See *Compendium of Important Letters and Circulars on N.E.S. and Community Development*, Vol. II (Patna, Superintendent Secretariat Press, 1959), p.1.

them to the district officer".[15] But the district officers are generally agreed that "a good personal assistant will be invaluable" and feel that "there will be no difficulty in so arranging matters that the resentments feared by his colleagues will not arise".[16] The personal assistant to the district officer in Bihar has been very helpful to him in the discharge of his day-to-day work. The arrangement is such that he does not make any note on the files which have been submitted to the district officer by the deputy collectors in charge or other gazetted officers. Even in respect of office establishment cases, he cannot note on the files. He has no power to address communications to officers of other departments either, though he sends notices for meetings, agenda, etc., over his own signature.

There are also examples of delegation to the district officer from the government in matters of appointments, transfers, etc., of ministry officers up to specified grades so that he can take action without waiting for directions from above. Similarly, he has been granted financial powers in respect of such matters as settlement operations, suspension and remission of rent demands, settlement of *sairats*,[17] hiring of houses, purchasing of supplies, etc., up to specified financial limits. After independence, and particularly after the abolition of *zamindaris* and the introduction of development programmes, the technique of delegating financial and administrative powers to the district officer has been more frequently employed. For example, in the field of revenue administration, the district officer has been empowered to sanction remission of rent up to Rs. 5,000 per annum in respect of one agricultural calamity occurring within his jurisdiction, up to Rs. 100 per annum in respect of any one village on any other grounds and without limit in respect of any demand which has been clearly made in error. The district officer has been authorized to sanction grants for discretionary expenditure on matters such as minor public works, rewards to deserving persons, or small special grants for local objectives. Likewise, government places at his disposal funds from which he may employ temporary staff as occasion may demand. The district officer in his capacity as collector is authorized to sanction public works improvements, the cost of which does not exceed Rs. 5,000. Similar examples of delegation are to be found in the field of development administration also.[18]

It has also been suggested from time to time that the district officer may be divested of some of his routine duties without any detriment to his major responsibility for the good management of the district machine. He may, it is argued by some, be relieved of all responsibility for the treasury, though many still feel that "it is a natural and important duty" of the district officer

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[15] The majority of the members of the *Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee* (1944–45) held this view. See *Report* (Alipore, Bengal Government Press, 1945), para. 98.

[16] *Ibid.* All the district officers with whom the writer had a chance to discuss this point were unanimously agreed on the retention and continuance of the personal assistant.

[17] Special interests (e.g. those accruing from the ownership of tanks, fisheries, forest land, market places) formerly within the jurisdiction of Zamindaris and now vested in the state.

[18] See *Compendium of Important Letters and Circulars on National Extension Service and Community Development*, Vol. I (Patna, Secretariat Press, 1958), pp. 269–75.

to be responsible for it.[19] At least, the treasury code can be so amended as to divest the district officer of some minor but time consuming chores in respect of the district treasury. Likewise, it is suggested that he can shed the duties of district registrar.[20] This view was unanimously shared by the district officers in 1960 at a conference convened by the chief secretary at Patna.[21] Nevertheless, there is a point of view which suggests that the registrar should continue to be under the administrative control of the district officer and should stand in the same relationship to him as, for example, the district agricultural officer or any other district head of a technical department.[22]

It is further suggested that the district officer can be considerably relieved if the whole establishment work at district headquarters is centralized in the establishment section of the collectorate and a fairly senior deputy collector is placed in charge of it. Files relating to the establishment section and also those of disciplinary cases of the revenue staff could be dealt with by the additional collector, and those of the development staff disposed of by the district development officer. This measure could save the district officer much time for other more important and urgent business. Similarly, it is felt that his workload could be appreciably reduced were he no longer responsible for confidential reports on the work of non-gazetted staff, or for signing a large number of draft notifications, draft declarations and estimates in connection with land acquisition proceedings. The district officer might also be relieved of his functions in respect of the Excise Department in the same manner as that suggested in respect of his registration work. Another suggestion which is frequently made to this effect is that the district officer and other revenue officers in the district could be completely freed from case work under the Criminal Procedure Code. A further proposal is that the sub-divisional officers be vested with full control over the appointment, transfer and dismissal of all (lowest) grade IV government employees and have delegated powers to pass orders in all disciplinary cases, short of dismissal, discharge or reduction in rank in respect of any non-gazetted government employees working directly under them.

(3) *Reduction of the Area of His Charge*

The size of a district has an important bearing upon the workload of the district officer. Nevertheless, it has not been found possible to arrive at a fixed and precise formulation in regard to the ideal size of a district. Some of the witnesses who appeared before the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee felt that "a population of about a million represented as much as a district officer could handle, others, that one and a half-million was about right, and most of them thought that two million was the outside limit". The Committee rightly concluded that much depended "on the density of the population, the topography of the area and the nature and the state of

[19] One or two witnesses suggested in their evidence before the *Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee* that the district officer should be relieved of all responsibility for the treasury, but the Committee did not agree with this view. *Op. cit.*, para. 101.

[20] *Ibid.*, para. 102.

[21] A conference of the district officers of the whole state was convened at Patna on 3rd November, 1960, at which many important measures to streamline the district administration were discussed.

[22] For this point of view, see *Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee*, para. 102.

its communications".[23] For example, a district which was administratively unmanageable fifty years ago becomes a manageable administrative unit if its system of communications considerably improves. What is, therefore, a manageable size of a district is a matter of judgment rather than of a formula. The size of a district, particularly at the present time, had to be judged from the point of view of efficient implementation of various governmental activities in the countryside, and the role the district officer plays in their behalf.[24]

An important device which has often been suggested and also occasionally applied to lighten the workload of the district officer is a reduction in the size of his charge. A comparative statement showing the area, population, number of districts, average area of districts and average population of districts in the various states of India is given below to explain the position of the district in Bihar.[25]

State	*Area in Sq. Miles*	*Population*	*Number of Districts*	*Average area in Sq. Miles*	*Average Population*
Andhra Pradesh	106,052	35,977,999	20	5,303	1,798,900
Assam	47,098	11,860,059	11	4,282	1,078,187
Bihar	67,198	46,457,042	17	3,953	2,732,767
Gujrat	72,154	20,621,283	17	4,244	1,213,107
Madhya Pradesh	71,210	32,394,375	43	3,982	753,358
Kerala	15,005	16,875,199	9	1,667	1,875,022
Jammu and Kashmir ..	—	3,583,585	9	—	398,176
Madras	50,132	33,650,917	13	3,856	2,588,532
Maharashtra	118,884	39,504,294	26	4,572	1,519,396
Mysore	74,122	23,547,081	19	3,901	1,239,320
Orissa	60,161	17,565,645	13	5,397	1,351,203
Punjab	47,084	20,298,151	19	2,478	1,068,324
Rajasthan	132,150	20,146,175	26	5,085	774,853
Uttar Pradesh	113,454	73,752,914	54	2,102	1,365,795
West Bengal	38,928	34,967,634	16	2,121	2,185,477

The table shows that the average population of a district in Bihar is 2,732,767, which is the largest in the whole of India. The average area of a district in Bihar is 3,953 square miles, which is large enough when compared with other states. If we compare Bihar with Madras and Uttar Pradesh, we find that the average district in Uttar Pradesh covers about 43 per cent of the area of an average district in Bihar, and about one-third of Chotanagpur district (Bihar) and is more or less equal to the average area of a Chotanagpur sub-division The average population of a Madras district is comparable to that of a Bihar district, but the area covers about 80 per cent of the area of the district in Chotanagpur. As regards sub-divisions, the average area of a

[23] *Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee* (1944–45), para. 104.

[24] The Planning Commission suggested in the *First Five-Year Plan* that "it might be useful for State Governments now to review the size of their existing districts from the point of view of efficient implementation of development programmes." *Op. cit.*, p. 132. K. Santhanam's views on this point are worth quoting. "In my opinion," he observes, "it is wrong to have any district with more than a million population, if the District Collector is to function as an efficient development officer." See "Democratic Planning and the Administrator" *Yojana*, Vol. VII, No. 20, p. 15. In a study on *Planning Regions in Mysore State* it has been suggested that a district with an area of more than 4,000 square miles and a population of one million and a taluka with more than 750 square miles and a population of 150 thousand are unfavourable for efficient administration and implementation of development programmes. See P. K. Dave, "The Collector Today and Tomorrow," *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XI, No. 3, July–September, 1965, p. 382.

[25] See an unpublished *Memorandum on Redistribution of Administrative Units in the State of Bihar* placed before the Finance Commission in July, 1961.

sub-division in Uttar Pradesh is about two-fifths of the average area of that in Bihar, while the average area of a sub-division in Madras is slightly less than half of that of Bihar.[26]

Both in area and in population, districts in Bihar are clearly too big and unwieldy for efficient administration. One early remedy could be the reorganization of the district sub-divisions. In fact the State Government has already decided to create seven new districts and fifteen new sub-divisions, but the decision has so far remained unimplemented owing to lack of funds and also to the controversy that the plan has aroused. The alternative to the reorganization of districts and sub-divisions has so far been (i) appointing additional officers to unwieldy districts and sub-divisions and (ii) delegation of powers to the officers in the field. But this arrangement has not given appreciable relief to the district officer who continues to be hard pressed. The existing unmanageable size of districts and sub-divisions certainly seems a main cause of his present over-heavy workload and it is felt that the reduction in the size of districts will result in lightening his burden.[27] Nevertheless, this is not a substitute for the other expedients already noted. It is supplementary to them, for the present workload of the district officer should not only be ascribed to the size but also and even more importantly to the variety of his functions.

Conclusion

That there is over-centralization of control and supervision at the level of the district officer cannot be denied. This underlines the necessity of enlarged and meaningful delegation of administrative and financial powers to his associates in development and traditional, regulatory departments working in the district. It also suggests that the district officer be divested of such powers and functions as have ceased to be relevant to his leadership role in contemporary district administration.

District administration has developed new edges since independence and is increasingly tending to supply relatively sophisticated services, which call for the effective joining together of the activities of functional agencies and demands the exercise of a large degree of discretion, technical skill and prudence. The district administration has, therefore, to shed its techniques —orientation and colonial workways and has to emphasize human relations and leadership.

There is misconception about the authority of the district officer which is reflected in the conception of leadership displayed by him. The notion that authority resides in the position and office fosters the idea that leadership merely means fulfilling the formal requirements of the office. But there is another and even more important aspect of his responsibilities as the head of the district administration, which tests his leadership abilities to a far greater degree; and this is the responsibility for obtaining from his civil service colleagues by precept and personal example, their unstinted recognition of his status as their leader.

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[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.* *The Memorandum of the Government of Bihar* says: "The existing unmanageable size of districts and sub-divisions is one of the principal causes of inefficiency and delay; it throws such heavy bulk of work on the supervisory officers that either the day-to-day routine would submerge them or . . . they would find time to attend to regular administrative work only by fits and starts".

Administration and Leadership in East Africa

By W. WARRELL BOWRING

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IN most developing countries there are training institutions for senior civil servants and it seems that there is a wide measure of agreement about the subjects to be taught and the methods of instruction. Attitude training poses more awkward problems and is often ignored, in the belief that the service itself performs this function by impressing the new entrant with its own particular values. If however senior administrators are required to exercise powers of initiative and to show above-average qualities of leadership a more positive approach to developing these qualities has to be adopted. This is possible, provided the leadership function can be defined and there is an understanding of the role the administrator is required to play.

Urwick has defined leadership as the quality of behaviour in individuals by which others are drawn to accept their advice.[1] But this definition when related to the administrative officer in the civil services of East Africa poses the question: "who are the others"? Are they the subordinates cadre in the bureaucracy or are they the public at large? Whereas it is to be expected that senior civil servants should perform a management function within their own department, the influencing of public opinion is a political role which one might have supposed could be better filled by popular local leaders or representative institutions. It is important to know the extent to which the administrative officer is still required to assume a political role and to appreciate the problems which arise in attempting to introduce changes in his functions. It is obvious that any question of filling this dual role does not arise when the officer is serving in a ministry complete with effective communications, systematic controls, and direction from above. It is when these refinements are missing that initiative is required to perform the administrative function of converting policy decisions into action. It is the administrative officer in the district in direct contact with the public who must do this until such time as he is replaced by other leaders who can cause plans to be implemented and can provide an effective channel of communication between government and governed. These were the duties undertaken by the colonial administrator and, it seems, in many cases inherited by his successors of the present day.

[1] His own adaptation of a definition made by C. Barnard. L. Urwick, *Leadership in the Twentieth Century* (Pitman, 1957), p. 38.

The Political Roles of Administrative Officers in Districts

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania inherited similar civil service organisations adapted from the British system. One major difference, however, was the arrangement whereby administrative officers were members of a separate service which had the primary task of providing the agents of government in the rural areas. Independence, achieved separately did not necessarily alter this structure nor did it always reduce the responsibilities of the district commissioner. In Kenya, the commissioners at provincial and district levels have the same responsibilities as their predecessors under the former colonial government. They are civil servants, representing the government in their area of jurisdiction and are responsible for the execution of government policies. To succeed in these tasks they have to play a political role for which qualities of temperament and personality are as important as education. In the event of a clash of interests between national policies and opinions expressed by local representatives leaders, a high degree of leadership is required from them. There are several instances of complaints in the Kenya parliament that administrative officers refused to give proper attention to the views of the people's elected representatives or that they had engaged in politics themselves.[2] Although it is no doubt true that the African district commissioner can never remain as uncommitted as his expatriate predecessor, such criticisms doubtless reflect the disappointment of many to find that the civil service can maintain a loyalty towards the government in preference to seeking local popularity. In Uganda too the district commissioner is a career civil servant who is the representative of central government in spite of the authority and importance of the secretary-general of the local administration in his district.[3] Recent changes in the laws have given the district commissioner, as the local representative of the Minister of Regional Administrations, greatly increased control over the local administrations and at present there is no likelihood of this move towards centralizing authority being reversed.

In Tanzania the virtual absence of opposition to the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) at the time of independence made it possible to introduce measures to integrate the civil service with the Party: provincial and district commissioners were replaced by political leaders who were, in most cases, already well known in the places where they were appointed. The provinces were divided into smaller units and re-named "regions" and many of the functions of the former provincial administration were transferred to other departments of government. At the same time the union between Party and Government was consolidated by making the new regional and area commissioners the secretaries of their respective party executive committees.[4] These changes have not basically affected the authority of the district office but they have caused changes in the role and outlook of the civil servant administrators. There is a distinction between

[2] See C. Gertzell, "The Provincial Administration in Kenya" in *The Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, November 1966, pp. 206 and 209.

[3] The Minister of Regional Administrations, making his budget speech in 1966, said: " . . . in his capacity as chief representative of Central Government, he (the district commissioner) shall be the top man in that area . . . ". (Uganda Parliamentary debates 1966, Vol. 62, p. 464).

[4] The reasons for making these changes are described by W. Tordoff, *Politics and Administration in Tanzania* (East African Publishing House, 1967), pp. 98 and 99.

the duties of the commissioner and those of his civil servant subordinate, now known as the area secretary. Briefly, the commissioners are responsible for supervising and co-ordinating the activities of all the local heads of government departments and for providing the necessary stimulus for carrying out development plans. The administrative officers are expected to be the commissioners' agents and advisers establishing at regional and district level a relationship between politician and civil servant similar to that which exists between a minister and the permanent head of his department. There are obvious differences between the two relationships: the roles of the minister and his head of department are clearly defined, one being responsible for the more important decisions and the other for seeing they are carried out: co-operation and mutual respect are essential if a working relationship is to be achieved. The area secretary is in a weaker position, being clearly subordinate to his commissioner but at the same time responsible for giving him legal advice. He is also personally responsible for ensuring that financial regulations are obeyed. Most of the time both are putting into effect policies decided elsewhere. Furthermore, with the introduction of the *de jure* One Party State in 1965, local initiative rests with the Party rather than the government and the commissioner's authority as a Party executive cannot be assumed in his absence by his civil servant adviser. The latter cannot help being conscious of his lack of political authority and he is consequently reluctant to take decisions in the name of his commissioner: often this causes an accumulation of matters waiting for a decision since the area commissioner may be required to travel extensively. The area secretaries, on the other hand, very rarely make routine tours in their districts and thus have few opportunities to act as government spokesmen. The gulf between the two roles is further accentuated by the fact that it is extremely rare to find successful area secretaries promoted to fill vacancies in the ranks of area commissioners and therefore there is little incentive for the civil servants to understudy the commissioners.[5] It remains to be considered whether district administrative officers are left a leadership role in controlling their own subordinate staff. Here again their responsibilities are diminished. In former times the hierarchy of the native authority staff, which formed the backbone of the local administration, looked to the district office for leadership. Now that the executive functions of the traditional rulers are performed by officials employed by the district council, this particular leadership responsibility is assumed collectively either by elected councillors, or by the district executive committee of the Party. Also, the number of junior civil servants in the regional administration has decreased with the transfer of certain functions to other departments and the management of subordinate staff is not an important activity.

The area commissioner has little previous experience and, in many cases, only limited education; he needs sound advice and accurate information on a variety of matters. Although this point is accepted, it has been suggested that it is not necessary to demand that a civil servant in the administrative grade should be made available to provide this service.[6] This is particularly

[5] On the other hand, several Regional Commissioners were civil servants prior to their appointments.

[6] Suggestion made in *Job Analysis Report on the Regional Administration*, Tanzania (mimeo) 1963.

important in Tanzania where there is still an acute shortage of civil servants who possess the basic educational qualifications for the higher posts: this situation has sometimes made it difficult to implement development plans and the government has sought to recruit a large number of foreign experts[7]

Nevertheless, there are two good reasons for rejecting this suggestion. Firstly, there is, as other observers have remarked, considerable merit in training a corps of administrative generalists who can apply their experience and ability in a variety of administrative situations.[8] The newly appointed administrative officer posted to a district learns how the various departments of government operate, observes the impact of policies on the people themselves and gains first hand experience of the roles played by local government and political party. It is unnecessary to determine whether his duties are "executive" or "administrative" provided it is recognized that his stay in the district administration is part of his training. Secondly, the whole problem of what is called, for convenience, development administration requires the attention of an efficient, deconcentrated, bureaucracy if plans are to be implemented; the greater the determination of national leaders to press on with social mobilization, the more important becomes the political role of the district administration. At the present time there seems little likelihood of it becoming the "fifth wheel of the coach" as was envisaged in the nineteen-fifties;[9] and even more striking is the comparison with West Africa where re-definitions of the role of the district officer indicate that the provincial administration has lost its former importance.[10]

Leadership for Development

Modernization in East Africa, in all its aspects, requires leadership of a high order and Africans expect it to be personalized and institutionalized: informal leaders are comparatively rare, but this is not to say either that statutory authority is necessary before leadership is accepted or that those vested with authority make the best use of their powers. Although representative leaders can usually be persuaded to help as mobilizing agents they often prefer to consider themselves as having the duty to express public opinion rather than to change it. Thus, it is the district or area commissioner who must continue to seek compromises between the demands and prejudices of a rural population and the limitations and aspirations expressed in development plans. This leads to the generalization, which borders on being a platitude, that local participation must be sought and obtained if plans are to be successfully executed. It would be even better if something more than participation could be obtained: if the drive and direction could be safely

[7] *Tanganyika Five-Year Development Plan* (Dar es Salaam, 1964), p. 86: 444 foreign experts were to have been recruited but many of the posts have remained vacant.

[8] E.g. See M. Fainsod, "The Structure of Development Administration" in Swerdlow (ed.), *Development Administration: Concepts and Problems* (Syracuse University Press, 1963), p. 10.

[9] See I. Woodruffe, "The Relationship Between Central and Local Government in Africa" in *The Journal of African Administration*, January, 1957.

[10] See A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, Vol. IV, January, 1965, p. 6 "A third (reason for change) has been the gradual acknowledgement that the day of the general administrator with a wide mandate is giving way to the need for the administrative officer with specialist skills, whether in finance, legal. economic or community development."

left to local leaders, the civil service could provide the necessary advice and co-ordination, thereby performing functions for which it is better suited.

There are, it is suggested, four ways in which co-operation can be achieved. Firstly, by the Tanzanian system of Development Committees where technical officers and leaders of local opinion can discuss projects and resolve misunderstandings. In theory this arrangement is excellent, since the meetings have the dual purpose of obtaining inter-departmental co-ordination and popular collaboration: in practice, much depends on the ability of the area commissioner as chairman to ensure that meetings are held frequently, are kept short and speakers are kept under control so that matters of detail can be settled elsewhere. In Uganda no dual purpose is accorded to the corresponding district meeting. Instead, the older institution of the District Team is retained, meeting monthly with the purpose of co-ordinating departmental plans and permitting the exchange of information on government policies: all members are public officers, the chairman being the district commissioner and the secretary another administrative officer. It is not easy to decide which arrangement is the better. Making local leaders members of such committees is apt to result in longer meetings but if they are excluded a valuable means of communicating with popular opinion is lost and there is a tendency to have civil servants telling the public what it has been decided they are to do and what government is going to do for them. They have to rely on their personal authority rather than on the fact that they represent the opinion of a committee which contains identifiable local leaders among its members. In Kenya, an attempt to find a solution to this problem has resulted in the formation of two committees at the district level: the development committee, composed of officials, with the Provincial Planning Officer as secretary and a development advisory committee with a membership which includes political leaders and prominent local citizens.[11] Whichever system is adopted will depend for its success on the manner in which the district or area commissioner conducts the meeting and it is his personal qualities which will determine whether the committees are effective.

Secondly, local government institutions are often cited as suitable mobilizing agencies: here again performance often falls short of expectations. In the past the district commissioner, when embarrassed by having to carry out manifestly unpopular policies would often seek the assistance of a chief who could exploit his status and executive authority to command support. When a chief was unenthusiastic about the policies he was expected to promote he was well aware that failure to maintain a *rapport* with his district commissioner might be to his personal disadvantage even if his standing with his tribe remained unharmed. Chiefs, even where they have been retained, have been superseded as leaders of opinion by representative councils and one might expect that the process could be repeated by substituting a committee of the local authority council for the chief.[12] But whereas the co-operation of a rural local authority in formulating plans is essential it is by no means certain that support from the same quarters is forthcoming when less popular policies are pursued, such as enforcing soil

[11] *Kenya Development Plan* 1965/66–69/70 (Government Printer, Nairobi), p. 8.
[12] Executive powers were withdrawn from Chiefs in Tanzania in 1963.

conservation measures or supporting compulsory turn-outs for weeding communal farms. It is only to be expected that councillors, mindful of the next election, aware, in many cases, that they represent no parochial interests, are reluctant to court unpopularity by overtly siding with authority. Such attitudes lend support to a warning by D. Apter that in modernizing societies it is unwise to expect too much of representative institutions.[13] It would probably be different if the impetus for modernization came from the electorate but it cannot be said that this is usually the case. At present many rural local authorities are ineffective because they lack the necessary financial resources: but even if this difficulty is overcome it is by no means certain that the elected councillors either collectively or individually would be willing and able to secure support for government policies.

Thirdly, use is made of the political party organizations to disseminate information and to secure co-operation. Compared with Kenya and Uganda, Tanzania would seem to be better placed to secure such support for the district administration: TANU is the only political party and it has been organized on a nation-wide network of party cells so that a two-way flow of information is possible. Of particular importance is the synthesis between local government and the Party at the village level where members of the village development committees are composed of leading Party members, supported by staff employed by the local authority. The area commissioner can thus communicate with these committees either through local government officers or through the district office of the Party by virtue of his position as district secretary. In many cases his previous association with the Party bureaucracy is an additional advantage.[14] Another factor is the influence which can be exerted by the Party district chairman in getting government policies implemented: his tenure of office is relatively secure and his prestige is considerable.

Fourthly, reliance is still placed on the mass meeting at which government policies are explained and people are persuaded to work harder for the development of the country.[15] More use is made of this method of persuasion in Tanzania than in the neighbouring countries and it seems that at present the area commissioner with a political background is generally very effective in mobilizing the public to take part in nation-building activities. This is hardly surprising: he has achieved his position in the Party primarily because he had the ability to speak convincingly. Also, the area commissioner with a Party background in the first years after independence has had a considerable initial advantage in the eyes of the public: he is identified with the organization primarily responsible for the achievement of independence and his connection with the Party is a fact to be exploited.

Whichever of these four ways of obtaining local co-operation is used the district/area commissioner will be involved and his ability in his political role will be a key factor. It is obvious that, depending on the occasion, distinctly different qualities are called for: at the public meeting he has to

[13] D. Apter, *The Politics of Modernization* (Chicago) 1965), p. 3.

[14] In July 1968 fifty-three (out of a total of sixty) area commissioners were formerly Party officials.

[15] *Since this article was written, it is understood that new instructions have been issued limiting the scope of local Party leaders to call mass meetings. In view of the frequency of such meetings in the past, this may be a matter of some relief to rural citizens.*—Ed.

deal with general principles and to build up a case which will find a response in his audience: in the committee room what is required is someone who can marshal the facts, counter prejudices with reasoned arguments and win support for his proposals. In the latter situation a personal ascendancy must be established and maintained: here the civil servant commissioner, by virtue of his training, has the advantage over his political counterpart. The latter may claim that he "speaks the people's language", but a flair for oratory is no substitute for knowledge of the relevant facts when matters of detail are being thrashed out. Possibly President Nyerere had this in mind when he said that the kind of leadership the country required was not necessarily the noisiest.[16]

Internal Leadership

Apart from leadership in a political role, the district/area commissioner must also exercise supervision over all government departments in his district, and manage his own office. In the past the leadership of an expatriate district commissioner was accepted by convention and by virtue of his having a wider experience than his technical officers: his African successor does not always have the same advantage however much former conventions may be reinforced by government directives. Good leadership is necessary to obtain co-ordination and this is not achieved by merely telling heads of departments to co-operate. The commissioner must know his technical officers and make sure that they get to know each other. Where district headquarters are situated in the large towns, frequent transfers and lack of social contacts between civil servants of different departments often make it necessary for some initiative to be shown. Also, the commissioner himself, in order to maximize development activity, must make a point of getting to know the capabilities, limitations and processes of the departments and local authorities in his district.

Management of his own office must always be an important part of the commissioner's work if he is to be able to rely on his subordinates. The comparatively radical changes introduced into the district administration in Tanzania have provided useful methods of securing the co-operation of local leaders. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that they make it more difficult to exercise leadership within the bureaucracy and to promote the necessary *esprit de corps*. The civil service district commissioner is better placed in this respect since he and his assistants are members of the same service and in all probability he previously served in a similar subordinate capacity: his greatest asset is the fact that he has more experience than his subordinates. It is more difficult for the area commissioner in Tanzania to foster the right attitudes and, however competent he may be, his influence depends on his personality rather than his experience within the organisation.

Leadership and Training

From this comparison of the responsibilities of administrative officers in districts it is clear that in Kenya and Uganda the leadership requirements are clearly defined and can be emphasized during training.[17] The post of district commissioner continues to carry prestige and authority, at least for the present, and is seen as a reward for the competent; since leaders must

[16] Address to the TANU National Conference, Mwanza, 16.10.67.

show initiative, its use is a demonstration of competence. In Tanzania the force of such reasoning is not so apparent and other incentives may be required. Also, there is another factor to be taken into account; although the injection of Party values into the bureaucracy brings considerable political advantages, it nevertheless diminished the effectual influence of the organization on its members.

The district administrative officer for his part has a responsibility to ensure that both Party and departmental aims are satisfied and when these are not identical his position is not always an easy one. There is an understandable temptation, when things go wrong to take the view "that the Party must put matters right," and to wait until a clear directive is given by the highest available authority, usually the regional commissioner. Apart from the loss of time which is often involved, the habit quickly establishes itself that every problem however unimportant is better left for the decision of the head of the region, an attitude which would not be tolerated in any ideal-type civil service where the incumbent of any office knows the limits within which he can take decisions and count on support from above, and the unfavourable impression created if he fails to take legitimate action as required. Administrative effort cannot be measured quantitively, and it is only by a careful investigation of a particular situation that it is possible to assess whether problems would have been handled better if more positive leadership, or better training or more enterprise had been available. Efficiency in administrative officers needs to be carefully defined since it must include the acceptance of responsibility as well as the competent performance of assigned tasks.

There are two obvious ways to encourage the use of initiative. Firstly, by ensuring that adequate attention is paid to personnel management so that a high morale is maintained. Cohesiveness, pride in the working-group and job-satisfaction are the major factors in encouraging the "sense of mission" which is so often needed.[18] Secondly, training institutions often need to take a more positive approach to initiative-training. Case study problems may do this indirectly, but their main purpose is to give students experience so that future real-life situations are not unfamiliar to them. Character training, fostering self-reliance and self-discipline is the basis of providing the expertise to deal with unexpected and unfamiliar problems. Although it is recognised that this kind of training is necessary in East Africa it is undertaken outside the training institutions as a separate exercise.[19] It is by giving the same emphasis to personal qualities as to book learning that training institutions can contribute to building up effective local administrations, equipped to make the best use of the enthusiasm, good-will and material resources which are available.

[17] E.g. see President Kenyatta's speech at the Kenya Institute of Administration on 15th December 1965 in which he warned civil servants that they would be judged by their contribution to the development plan and would be expected to explain any failure to achieve the targets (*East African Standard*, 16th December, 1965).

[18] "Cohesiveness" is distinguished from pride in the working group since it means liking the people in the organisation in contrast to the organization itself. See N. Walker, *Morale in the Civil Service* (Edinburgh University Press, 1961), p. 60.

[19] Administrative officers in Uganda and Tanzania are required to attend a course at the Outward Bound Mountain School. In addition, Tanzanian officers join the para-military National Service for five months. In Kenya, administrative officers are seconded to the Army for basic training.

Local Government and Community Development in the Sudan

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ONE of the purposes of local government, besides decentralizing administration, is to provide an institutional framework for the participation of the people in the process of government at the grass roots. But local government institutions in the developing countries have failed to promote the necessary activity and initiative from the people. During the colonial period the introduction of local government did provide an institutional framework but failed to invoke popular participation. Local government was more an instrument of central government than an institution to instil confidence amongst the councillors since the ultimate responsibility for taking decisions in matters of a purely local character rested very largely with the central government. Also the representative character of local government was often greatly undermined by the appointment of official nominees. After independence even when an attempt was made to remove some of these defects, the old image of local government has continued to persist. Local government as a limb of the central government does not excite the people to keen participation; rather general apathy and lack of interest is the rule. It is this attitude which Community Development schemes are seeking to remedy. The community development programme, however, is not based on the sanctions of the government, although introduced by it. It is essentially an educational process whereby people are enabled to participate actively and to improve their communal life. One result of this should also be to overcome their apathy in the political life of the country, and in particular to strengthen genuine local government.

In the Sudan local government has never really had a chance of working as an autonomous institution. There is a need not only to reorganize local government institutions to meet the requirements of democracy and independence, but also to infuse a new spirit of self-help and initiative amongst the people. It is the latter function which community development seeks to achieve.

Local Government

During the British regime in the Sudan an institutional framework of local government was provided by a number of ordinances. The Milner Report of 1921 recommended the transfer of simple administrative functions to the native agencies on the Lugardian model and the Powers of Sheikhs Ordinances 1927, 1928 and 1932 granted some judicial and financial responsibilities to local agencies. But the main consideration was adminis-

trative convenience. The Local Government Ordinances of 1937 recognized for the first time the corporate existence of local bodies, but there was no separate local government service. The executive officer was seconded from the central government and there was hardly any financial autonomy. In 1951 a comprehensive local government ordinance was introduced on the recommendations of the Marshall Report. It envisaged a unified system of local government based on local councils as bodies corporate. Due to the wide diversity of the degree of progress obtained by the different areas of the Sudan, five stages of local government were recognized according to the extent of their maturity. These varied between the first level where the power was vested in the district commissioner and the final stage which provided for a council partly elected and partly nominated, and electing its own chairman. All councils, however, had their separate warrants granted by the central government. But the latter types – stages four and five – were very few indeed. The Sudan, therefore, did not have much of an experience in real local government when it became independent a few years later. In fact, the people were never trusted to share power and the growth of their civic responsibility was stunted.

When the military junta came to power in 1958, even these councils were suspended at first and then reconstituted, retaining only the last three stages with councils partly elected and partly nominated. However, their administration was still based to a great extent on the Local Government Ordinance of 1951, although now these councils also provided the foundation for authorities at provincial and central level. The military authorities wanted to decentralize the administration with a view to obtaining the participation of the people in the developmental activities of the government. They therefore introduced a system of "local-government-democracy" in an attempt to establish their political base, but were careful not to transfer the substance of power. Their scheme of hierarchical councils did provide a formal area organization to co-ordinate and plan; but through Provincial Councils they secured tighter control over the local authorities. The amount of centralized control at all levels downwards reduced the local authorities to the status of advisory bodies. The military regime did not want to take any risk with the extension of local autonomy. The result was that these local councils hardly provided a training ground for holding responsibility or any enthusiasm amongst the people.

Since the liquidation of the military regime in October 1964 not much progress has been made towards strengthening local councils. At first they were dissolved, then in May 1967 the government decided to reconstitute them and accordingly elections to the local councils were held in June that year. The Sudan is now divided into 84 local government areas; sixty-five of these are rural authorities. Their annual budgets total about eight million pounds which includes their annual contribution of about £250,000 to central government.

Thus, except for the institutional framework, the local government in the Sudan has hardly functioned in the spirit of local self-government. The need for popular participation, however, was always felt, particularly for economic development. Even the military regime, which only paid lip service to people's political participation realized that "the success of the development

programme hinges heavily on the stimulation of rural communities," and in their ten-year plan of Economic and Social Development (1961–71), allocation of £100,000 was made for community development activities. For the purpose of economic development, the United Nations has been providing the help of community development experts to developing countries. Such an expert arrived in the Sudan in 1958; but his proposals whereby the Community Development scheme was to operate under the supervision of the Ministry of Local Government, were not formally accepted until June 1961.

Community Development: the Pilot Project

To start with, a pilot project in Community Development was proposed for Khartoum North rural council and based on the experience there, more pilot projects were to be started. The scheme was to work in close association with the staff of the rural council. The rural area of Khartoum North was chosen for the pilot project for purposes of administrative convenience and easy supervision. The project was inaugurated in September 1963. It consisted of 28 villages with a population of about 30,000 and a fund allocation of £100,000 for the years 1963–67. Administratively the project was under the charge of an inspector of the Ministry of Local Government. The project officer acted both as the staff of the Assistant Under-Secretary who was responsible for policy making and as the executive head of the project staff who had heavy field duties. The personnel section of the ministry recruited project area staff. In February 1964 the Government created the post of a counterpart to the U.N. adviser. For the day-to-day work, however, a village level worker (*Murshideen*) was responsible. One *Murshideen* served a village or villages with a population of about 2,000 and resided in the area.

The one difficulty facing the project was the recruitment and training of the Murshideens. In order to get the scheme started six school teachers were secured on secondment from the Ministry of Education. But they did not prove suitable for the type of work demanded of the village level workers. They had no idea of social service and had rather expected some material amenities and improved career prospects from their new jobs. Indeed they considered themselves as officers of a special category by virtue of their being government servants. They even made frequent requests for government cars to be made available to them to visit the villages, and when their requests were not granted, they all went on strike and left the department. So they did not prove the needed active links between the government and the people. What was needed was a worker who could live among the people and share their way of life, who could walk or use a cycle just like any ordinary citizen. The need to recruit the right type of village workers was imperative. A committee of the representatives of the ministries of Education and Local Government selected eleven persons for the purpose and a special 10-month course designed for the Community Development workers was given to them at Shendi.[1] A second batch of recruits also received similar training later.

[1] A training centre for community development workers was established at Shendi in 1961 by the Ministry of Education with the help of UNESCO. This centre has been selecting trainees from amongst teachers who had five years teaching experience in schools. It so happens that the training for community development workers and the adult education teachers is the same at Shendi.

These batches of village level workers proved much better than the original teachers. But the turnover has, on the whole, been large, mainly because of more attractive prospects elsewhere. So far no independent cadre exists to provide an incentive and retain an official in his job.

These newly-trained Murshideens succeeded in persuading the villagers to form village (development) committees. Although these committees have been formed on the basis of consensus rather than election, they provide a forum for the traditional leadership to come together with the new educated class interested in social work. They examine the suitability of the project and help in its execution. They also serve as a link between the people and the rural council. But more important, these committees have been helpful for the emergence of local leadership. Up to the end of 1966, twenty-seven village development committees had been formed by the village workers in the project area. The Committee varied in size from ten to sixteen members. That they have been very active is indicated by their frequent meetings. Their leaders participated in thirteen training courses in agriculture and nine on community development.

Although the community development work through organizing village communities in self-help, should activate village and rural councils, it is not exhausted thereby. Its range of activity is not confined to the economic sphere only (although this is necessary to start with), but also to the cultural sphere as well. Unfortunately in the Sudan this does not seem to have been fully realized; even those responsible for the training of the Murshideens look upon the community development programme only as a means to achieve the goal of national development. If democracy implies the active participation of the people in all its processes then the work of educating the masses in active participation is a continuous process. In the Sudan the training of the Murshideens seems to have been confused with adult education. The U.N. adviser, Mr. A. P. Dewan, in fact reported that the community development syllabus at Shendi is geared more to the training of adult education officers than to the community development workers. He emphasized that subjects like agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and health needed more than the superficial treatment they were receiving at Shendi.

For the success of community development schemes the selection of the right leaders is vital. At present such selection is made from the school teachers of five years' standing. While this may serve the purpose for the time being, it is bound to create problems when the present plans to extend the scheme to the whole country are put into practice; there is already a shortage of schoolteachers. It is therefore suggested that it would be useful if the new staff could be recruited from the local leaders who associate themselves voluntarily with community development work. Sometimes retired government servants residing in the villages, if they are associated with community development work, will be found very useful. Their mature outlook has greater impact on the people; the elderly people do not always appreciate being exhorted to improve themselves by the younger generation.

Perhaps realizing this, it has now been proposed to start an independent training school at Khartoum under the supervision of the Ministry of Local

Government. The location of the School at Khartoum would facilitate the use of the services of the various specialists in the ministries, university and other institutes; and the Khartoum North Pilot Project could serve as its laboratory. The supervisory staff, however, would continue to be recruited indirectly on secondment from other departments as there is shortage of trained hands in the country outside the government; also the lack of a promotion ladder in community development would not affect them.

The programmes covered by the community development scheme relate to agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and education. In future it is proposed to extend the scheme to the settlement of nomads which at present is the responsibility of the local government authorities. There are no hard and fast rules governing priorities; there is no subject-wise allocation of funds either. The budget provides a lump sum grant for community projects. The emphasis, however, varies, depending on the "felt need" of the community at a particular time. A few common needs seem to find a ready response from the people in the rural areas. The construction of community centres, for example, is one which the villagers consider a status symbol. The community centre serves a variety of purposes – a school during the day, a gymnasium or a library or a club in the evening. Co-operatives for providing local transport or a flour mill is another popular demand. Quite a few villages have been provided with libraries and reading rooms. Every village level worker is equipped with a magic lantern and films are shown on subjects connected with crops, agricultural methods, health, etc.; mobile cinema vans also visit the centre from time to time.

Community Development work has also been extended to women. The scheme provides for a women's work supervisor – a senior lady village worker; but there is no establishment provision yet for women at village worker level. However, a village worker is recruited on a casual labour basis and paid from the fund reserved for self-help projects, and, in practice, every village in the project is provided with one woman worker. Their appointment has proved very popular in the villages. But unfortunately their role appears to have been greatly shaped by the image already existing of the "Eradication of Illiteracy Campaign and Adult Education" worker. The main concern of the worker should not be to run an education institution permanently but to organize the village communities in such a manner that the people themselves can take over this work. Progress in women's work is faced with the difficulty of finding qualified girls in the villages to employ. Their qualification requirements and training have been considerably modified and some women were selected locally and given short courses of about two weeks on subjects like home science, tailoring, nutrition, child welfare, etc., as a form of minimal pre-service training.

On the whole the community development project seems to be growing popular with the people, since more and more requests are being received for the inclusion of new villages in the scheme. During the last three years, the Pilot Project was able to attract nearly £60,000 in cash, kind or labour. 53 per cent. of the total investment went into domestic water schemes, followed by the community centre buildings and health services claiming 11 per cent. each. The rest was mainly spent on agriculture, education and animal husbandry. In terms of achieving targets, the World Food

Programme has played a significant role in providing an incentive for labourers to participate in the projects and who treat the food received as a part-wage. But the provision of such incentives, of course, would seem to endanger the generation of a spirit of genuine community development amongst the people. So far, it should be mentioned, the community development in the Sudan has been happily free from sectional or partisan pressures.

On the basis of experience acquired and success achieved it has now been decided to extend the scheme to the whole country. For this purpose a high level National Committee with representatives from different departments and ministries was established in June 1966. The committee is to supervise the community development programmes at province, district and village levels. It is to co-ordinate inter-ministerial activities relating to community development and the national development plan. It is to meet at least four times a year. For the purpose of implementing its decisions an executive officer is made responsible; he is also to be its secretary. The National Committee met on 8th May, 1967 and approved a five-year plan for the expansion of community development throughout the Sudan. The plan envisages the opening of forty-five project areas aimed at covering a population of three million people through nine hundred male and some seven hundred and fifty female village workers by the end of the plan period. One project will be opened every year in each province so that there will be five project areas in each of the nine provinces of the Sudan at the end of the plan. The plan is estimated to cost £4,875,089.

Rural Councils and Community Development

While the community development activities are being guided and administered from the central office of the Ministry of Local Government, their actual working is closely associated with the local rural councils which are intended ultimately to take over responsibility for some of the functions of community development in the Sudan. Although the local government authorities are not good at taking initiative, they are better equipped (because of their permanence and their statutory powers) to repair, maintain and extend what has been created by the community development workers. The schemes which are of permanent nature will therefore be made over to the rural councils in due course. Hence there is a great need for close liaison here to avoid any duplication of the work of the rural councils. The transfer of any scheme from community development to the rural council will not entail any difficulty in the Sudan, since the present law regulating the working of rural councils could be easily adapted for the purpose. Section 8 of the 1951 Local Government Ordinance empowers the councils to delegate all or any of their powers to subordinate councils established by warrant for any village or region within the area of the council. The legislation regarding the composition and the working of the councils is very elastic and could cover most situations. However, the administration in general needs to be reoriented to the community development work. For this purpose the inservice training scheme for the local government officers already includes in its syllabus the philosophy and mechanics of community development.

The fact that community development programmes depend for technical

assistance on the extension services of local government accentuates the need to improve the machinery of local government as well. Any lack of co-ordination between local authority and community development is bound to dampen the enthusiasm of the people. The experience at the Shendi laboratory has fully confirmed this. At the same time, however, the distinction must remain; it is necessary that Community Development should not be submerged in another department of the ministry. The right to interpret what is the best method for promoting community development should remain with the community development organization at the centre until the spirit of the programme is fully assimilated by all concerned. Otherwise, the danger will remain that some well meaning administrators might treat the community development programme as an agency for relief and charity, while others might treat it as a programme for getting things done with or without popular participation. The main feature of the Community Development approach is the absence of any coercion, while legal compulsion may be required to implement action by local government. The local government councils need legal means of compulsion for tax collection and for enforcing their rules; they may even be expected to carry out certain functions for the central government. Local government, after all, forms an arm of state activity while Community Development is a voluntary social activity. In a country like the Sudan where the local councils are not yet very effective, community development does prepare people for a more active citizenship and thereby can help to stimulate interest in and the effectiveness of local government. At the same time steps are needed to transform local government units into properly autonomous local bodies with greater responsibility.

What, however, is most important is not to confuse the community development work either with modernization or even with mobilization of the masses for achieving certain economic results. A mass mobilization for economic development and modernization could, of course, be brought about in a totalitarian society, but that would hardly inculcate the spirit of democracy. It is true that community development work can also result in modernisation, but then it would be a reflex of the democratic impulse of the people – a result of popular participation, a necessary process of democracy.

Austrian Conference on the Development Decades

(A Note contributed by J. P. Hayes)

The sub-title of this Conference, held in June, 1968, was "The First Development Decade – a Review, the Second Development Decade – a Preview".

It was organized by the Vienna Institute for Development, an independent body with officers drawn from many countries, developing as well as developed.

The Institute's purpose is the exchange of ideas on development problems and to increase public interest in development, not only in Austria, but wherever the publications of the Institute may go.

2. The main title was "Confrontation". We were assured that the word had been chosen because it is the same in the three working languages of the conference, German, English and French. It was a confrontation in the sense that it brought together people from many countries – developing as well as developed, from the East as well as the West – and of many professions – politicians, economists, bankers and businessmen, people from international organizations, journalists. Altogether there were 46 participants from about twenty countries.

3. But "confrontation" is a naughty word among people concerned with development. We are supposed to speak of "constructive dialogue" (blessed word – what should we do without it?). Coming so soon after the Second United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in New Delhi, the Austrian meeting might have developed into a real confrontation. It was very encouraging that this did not happen. Away from the over-heated political atmosphere of inter-governmental meetings, everyone was prepared to take a balanced look at what has happened. In the words of the statement drawn up by the conference, many less developed countries " . . . with access to resources and development a central objective, have developed quite rapidly . . . That there are many such success stories among the less-developed countries is a reason for optimism and encouragement". While other countries have done much less well, for reasons which may be internal as well as external, circumstances vary so much that " . .. figures of average growth are misleading . . ." Nevertheless: "Despite the progress in the 1960s, the First Development Decade was not without its failures. The pronouncement of the Development Decade was not accompanied by the creation of any machinery to promote it or any definite commitments to undertake the steps necessary to achieve it." The statement further admits that " . . . a process of mutual disenchantment has taken place".

4. These brief excerpts may give the impression of careful, "on the one hand, on the other hand" drafting. In fact, in two and a half of its thirteen

pages the statement gives the most balanced appraisal of the current Development Decade that I have seen anywhere.

5. Indeed, I would say that the whole of this statement[1] is one of the best things of its kind which have been done to date. It is perhaps too long to make an impact on a popular audience. Professionals in development matters may feel that they have heard it all before. The President of the Vienna Institute is Bruno Kreisky, the leader of the Austrian Socialist Party, and the Chairman of the Conference was Tom Mboya, the Minister of Economic Planning and Development, Kenya. No doubt they had in mind an audience of members of parliaments and other leaders of opinion who, if they are not experts on this most important subject, ought nevertheless to be prepared to take a little time and trouble over a paper of this kind.

6. The statement inevitably reflects a certain number of special concerns of particular participants. Unfortunately, few of the people from Asia and none of those from Latin America who had been invited had been able to come. Among the developing countries, the centre of gravity was in tropical Africa, which was very strongly represented – for instance, by Paul Bomani, Minister of Economic Affairs and Development Planning, Tanzania. Another influential figure was Ahmed Ben Salah, Minister of Planning and National Economy, Tunisia, and a Vice-President of the Institute. On the side of the developed countries, a central figure was Professor Jan Tinbergen, Director of the Netherlands Economic Institute and Chairman of the U.N. Committee for Development Planning, which is concerned with drawing up the outlines of a strategy for a Second Development Decade.

7. A notable feature of the conference was the similarity of view on many development problems between people of the Socialist Countries of Eastern Europe and those from the West. There are differences of opinion on the contribution of private investment and on the proper role of private enterprise in developing countries; but on problems of plan implementation for example, most interesting similarities of view are emerging.

8. The statement begins with a general affirmation of the claims of development. It speaks of " . . . the recognition that international co-operation had an essential role in dealing with development and that development was essential for an acceptable world order. It is essential because morally the continuing misery of the great majority of people in less developed countries is unacceptable in an increasingly affluent world, because the world economy is adversely affected by the growing gap between the "haves" and "have-nots"; and, above all, because a narrowing of this gap is essential for world peace and stability. The shrinking world cannot long survive in a state where more than half of its inhabitants face starvation while the rest enjoys ever increasing affluence."

9. The bulk of the paper is concerned with certain lessons to be drawn from the experience of the first Development Decade, and with outlining the nature of national action and international co-operation needed to secure more rapid development in the future. Trade measures as well as aid are mentioned. The importance of regional co-operation between developing

[1] Obtainable from Wiener Institut fur Entwicklungsfragen, A- 1020 Wien, Obere Donaustresse 49, Austria.

countries themselves is stressed. The varied participants agreed to the inclusion of certain suggestions which remain highly controversial in other quarters – for example the idea of giving to developing countries " . . . a greater share (perhaps through organizations like I.D.A. and multilateral special funds of regional banks) in the new purchasing power created in the course of [international] monetary reform". There is a small grumble about the need for "better integration of the somewhat cumbersome machinery of the U.N. family . . . ".

10. It is perhaps because of the "process of mutual disenchantment" that there has been the stimulus to produce a string of able and persuasive declarations on the claims of development – for example the Encyclical "On the Development of Peoples" and the Report to the World Council of Churches and the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace by the Beirut Conference on World Co-operation for Development. As a comparatively minor participant in the proceedings, a back bencher, I feel that the Final Statement of the Austrian conference stands as worthy lay reinforcement to the more publicized ecclesiastical manifestos. A final quotation: "The Second Development Decade is a matter for all nations and peoples not just the international organizations. The necessary co-operation between developing and developed countries, and the contributions required for the latter, will only be forthcoming, if greater understanding can be created in developed countries on the issues at stake. The single most important issue is to create a more stable world, with less tensions and more security. This is a question of enlightened self-interest for all. But also implied is a sense of solidarity with the millions of people suffering from hardly imaginable hardship: hunger, lack of protection against diseases or excessive climatic conditions, lack of access to learning, and early death".

Quarterly Notes

COMMONWEALTH – *The Fourth Education Conference*

THE Fourth Commonwealth Education Conference took place in Lagos, Nigeria, from 26th February to 9th March 1968. It was, despite the difficulties of the host government at the time, agreed to be a good conference which advanced consideration of Commonwealth education with several new emphases, among which were technical and vocational education, curriculum development and education for economic and social development. Although the total attendance was somewhat smaller than at earlier conferences, there were delegates from 29 countries and territories, as well as consultants, observers and guests. While the present economic and other difficulties of many countries were recognised, the mood of the Conference was energetic, realistic and confident.

The Conference took note of progress since earlier Conferences, particularly the move towards greater self-sufficiency in education, as exemplified by the trend in programmes of co-operation towards teacher training rather than the supply of teachers, at any rate at the primary level. It also considered a number of new initiatives. It discussed the emphasis to be placed on promoting education at various levels if the educational pyramid was to retain its stability and brought particularly to the fore the need for programmes of functional education for adults, broadly related to their way of life and their occupational opportunities, including the importance of educational facilities which would enable women to play a fuller part in national life and development. It also emphasized the importance of a more rural bias in education and better provision for agricultural training for countries in which the great majority of the population is engaged in rural pursuits.

Whereas the First Commonwealth Education Conference in 1959 initiated the concept of Commonwealth education co-operation, particularly through the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, the Second Conference in 1961 reviewed practical measures for implementing such co-operation schemes, and the Third Conference in 1964 broadened the scope of Commonwealth education co-operation to include more informal types of social education and the education of adults, the characteristic element in the recent Fourth Conference has been recognition of the need to establish the closest relationship between schemes for educational co-operation and national programmes for economic and social development.

BRITAIN – *Committee on Local Authority and Allied Personal Social Services*

THE Seebohm Committee Report has now been published by H.M.S.O. The most important recommendation is that a unified social service department should be set up by all major local authorities, under a principal officer responsible to a separate social service committee. This would take over all the functions covering "social welfare" including the children's department,

day nurseries, adult training centres. Area officers heading teams of not less than 10-12 social workers for a population of 50/100,000 are recommended. An advisory council is proposed with a Standing Committee on Training. At national level one government department would be responsible for relations between the centre and the new social service departments. A Central Government Inspectorate would be set up. It is stressed that the new departments should become the focal point for voluntary organizations in the social welfare field.

The Seebohm Report which has been issued in advance of the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Government, in proposing the obligatory establishment of social service committees, has run contrary to the recommendation of the Maud Committee on Management that the establishment of particular committees should not be compulsory but left to the discretion of the local authorities themselves.

PAPUA & NEW GUINEA – *Local Government*

NOTED from the 1967 Report of the Commissioner for Local Government.

(*a*) Wide use of Administrative Advisers to local authorities together with a number of specialist advisers (Agriculture and Health), all Councils at present require the services of advisers (either full- or part-time) but their withdrawal from many of the multi-purpose councils can be expected as soon as more qualified council clerks become available from the Local Government Training Centre at Vunadidir.

(*b*) Encouragement for the use of the Portfolio type Councillor.

(*c*) Extensive commercial ventures are undertaken by local councils. These include: the operation of shipping, trucking and bus services, copra and cocoa marketing, vegetable and firewood marketing, bulk fuel and savings bank agencies, the manufacture of bricks, the operation of sawmills, taverns, hostels, garages and service stations and the establishment of such developmental projects as teak plantations, cattle breeding projects, and the marketing of traditional artifacts.

This activity is indicative of the desire of councils, particularly in the less developed areas of the Territory, to provide services which are non-existent or inadequate, and to assist in raising local incomes.

A number of these ventures e.g. sawmills, garages, and brick factories begin as a venture to supply the needs of a Council's own works programme, but as they so often start in an area described above they develop into an essential service to the communities as a whole.

IRAN – *Pilot Cities programme launched*

TEN towns in Iran with different urban conditions have been chosen for use as "city laboritories"; in them municipal officials will be trained and acquainted with the up-to-date methods of city management that they will be using later in the areas for which they are responsible.

To revolutionize the present status of Iranian cities and to replace the old systems of municipal services with the best methods of city management employed in advanced countries, the Iranian Ministry of Interior has planned a comprehensive programme, known as the "Pilot Cities Programme".

Under this programme, the most modern and recent municipal services are being tested out in actual practice.

The Pilot Cities serve as training centres where municipal officials may receive the inspiration and motivation to improve their own cities and promote municipal facilities all over the country.

The steps being taken in connection with the Pilot Cities Project for the improvement for the chosen cities are as follows:

1. A Property Identification Chart has been drawn up for the city of Karaj, making it possible to achieve equitable taxation of property.
2. The same procedure will be carried out for other selected cities, to be completed by September 1968.
3. The old filing system in use in Pilot Cities has been discarded and a new, up-to-date system introduced.
4. Office furniture and equipment will soon be standardized in the ten selected cities.
5. The old system of supplies procurement and storage will be abandoned and a new, standardized form adopted.
6. Developmental activities, such as providing paved footways at the side of roads, placing benches along streets and in parks, setting up workshops and repair depots for asphalting and paving stone fabrication, and putting in order slaughter-houses which were in an insanitary condition, have been carried out as part of the Pilot Cities Project.
7. Measures have been taken to beautify, and improve the amenities of, the ten selected cities.
8. Fire-fighting methods are being improved; some of the ten cities have been equipped with modern fire-fighting apparatus.

From IULA Newsletter – April 1968

NEW ZEALAND – *Municipal Association, Annual Conference*

Two contentious remits provoked vigorous debate and much indignation before they were finally rejected by conference. The association does not want the powers of the Ombudsman extended to cover local authorities. Two opposing arguments were (*a*) the introduction of the Ombudsman would constitute a further erosion of local government authority, and (*b*) local bodies should welcome the Ombudsman because they had nothing to hide.

Mr. S. S. Green, Dargaville, said: "We have nothing to hide" and Mr. W. J. Brown, Porirua, said he was "upset to find so many local bodies with guilt complexes".

Later in the agenda conference strongly turned down Takapuna's remit that mayors be elected to office by a majority vote of councillors and hold office for twelve months. Speaking to the remit Mr. H. D. A. Murdock said the present system resulted in the loss of many good men to council service when they were defeated in a mayoralty contest.

Sir Francis Kitts, Wellington, voicing strong opposition, said the majority of electors was a far better way of selecting a mayor than a majority of coun-

cillors. The English system, similar to that proposed, was cited for and against the proposal.

Municipal Association of N.Z., A.G.M. 1968.
(*New Zealand Local Government*, June 1968)

AUSTRALIA – *Electoral Change proposed in Tasmania*

HOBART City Council is seeking amending legislation to require that an elector at a council election must vote for the same number of candidates as there are vacancies – a provision which applies in other Tasmanian municipalities.

Book Reviews

Politics at Home and Abroad, WILLIAM A. ROBSON; *George Allen & Unwin*, pp. 299. 37s. 6d.

For more than a quarter of a century those who have studied public administration at all systematically will have had recourse to the writings of William A. Robson, now Professor Emeritus of Public Administration in the University of London. He has been one of the most prolific writers on his subject and over the years has shown a notable perception for questions for research and investigation which were later to become matters of major political importance and public discussion.

Professor Robson's recent book *Politics and Government at Home and Abroad* is a collection of essays published in periodicals and learned journals at various times during the past ten or fifteen years. Some of them have been brought up to date. The author has selected them in the belief that they deal with matters of continuing interest. They are linked, he suggests, by two themes – the basic requirements of democratic politics and government, and the essential relation between the social order and the political order. Eight essays deal with topics related to Britain and seven of those of other countries.

One of the many tasks that Professor Robson has undertaken in a very busy life is that of Joint Editor of the *Political Quarterly*, an office he has held since it was founded in 1929. Included in this volume is an account of the negotiations in which he engaged with George Bernard Shaw in an effort to raise funds to start the journal and subsequently, after the difficult years of the early 1930's, to maintain it. Shaw did not part with his money very easily. "Generosity", he wrote, "is not a septuagenarian quality; and my recent compulsory munificence in the matter of supertax has left me the meanest of men". He also doubted the wisdom of the whole affair – castigating quarterlies in general as "very ancient superstitions," and opining that this one will soon become a nest of reactionaries. He did, however, eventually part up with £1,000, and William Robson received his postcard announcing this on his wedding day – a day doubly blessed, indeed!

This is not a book to be read at a single sitting. Despite the underlying themes which give it a degree of unity, it covers a wide range of subjects, and many for whom it will hold much interest will no doubt find it easier to assimilate in stages. Most readers will not find all its chapters of equal interest but every keen student of public administration (among whom must surely be included the thoughtful public servant) will find much in it that will broaden his intellectual horizon and stimulate his thinking.

For readers of this Journal the essay on "The Transplantation of Political Institutions and Ideas" will be of particular interest. It contains a broad survey, both in time and space, of the forces that have caused countries and peoples to be influenced by their neighbours, and Professor Robson concludes that "the transplanting of political institutions and ideas is or should be a

continuing process; and no country should ever be too proud to learn from others. But each nation should also learn from its own experience, and take special care not to adopt exotic ideas and institutions without considering their suitability for a different environment, and the extent to which modification is necessary and possible if they are adopted." His summing up is that "The best political institutions belong not to any one country but to the whole world."

RAYMOND NOTTAGE

Public Administration in Newer Nations, HAROLD F. ALDERFER. *Praeger Special in International Politics and Public Affairs. Pall Mall Press, London;* 156 pp. with Notes and Bibliography; 104s.

THIS book looks at national organization, deconcentration and decentralization, administrative dynamics, personnel administration, finance administration and management in most of the countries of South America, Africa, the Near and Middle East, the Arab States, the Communist Nations, the Asian Subcontinent, South East Asia and the Far East. Can such a book of 156 pages be worth writing? As the volume of knowledge grows one is increasingly torn between the desire to know something about everywhere or everything about somewhere. The first alternative – comparative study – is the more fashionable, stimulating and useful; it tends also to be more ephemeral, unsatisfying and speculative. Professor Alderfer has helped forward the comparative study of administration in developing countries before and in this book he does so again, within the inevitable limits. These limits are that it is only possible to write a paragraph or two about any one country in any one context; that while the expert in a single country can reasonably hope to keep up to date the expert on the whole developing world falls rapidly behind the clock; and that the methodology of the subject itself is under-developed, so that it is not always clear whether some comparisons are worth attempting.

Professor Alderfer himself gave us a useful framework in a previous book on Local Government by identifying the Anglo-Saxon, the Gallic, the communist and the "residual" forms of local administration, and it was clear that there was a fruitful field for comparative study within each of his main categories; whether the categories themselves can fruitfully be compared is still somewhat speculative. In this book on the wider subject of public administration as a whole it is a good deal clearer where they are useful and where they are not. He starts each of his main chapters by saying, in effect, that it is not easy to generalize, but then goes on to state with some precision the matters on which it is legitimate to do so. He is good at extracting the the common elements from diverse situations.

The result is to clarify the methodology. The actual information that the book conveys is less satisfying, for it suffers from the first two limitations mentioned above. Description has to be condensed and simplified to the point when it may give a less than adequate impression of the facts; and in the case of the countries known to the reviewer a good deal is becoming out of date. The book was published in 1967 and presumably written a good deal earlier, and the author suffers from the bugbear of all who write on these subjects, namely that the developing countries change their political and administrative arrangements with frustrating frequency. He has not

helped matters by relying in part on an immensely wide reading of journals and year books, the contents of which were themselves inevitably ephemeral, a high proportion of which, dealing with contemporary subjects, were written in the 1950's; in the developing world today a decade is apt to correspond to a century elsewhere.

However, these criticisms do no more than denote the pitfalls awaiting anyone who writes on this elusive subject. The world-wide survey may be superficial, but it is there and it is useful to have it for reference; the sign-posts which the author erects are helpful to anyone picking his way through this particular jungle of comparative study; and the message, unlike those of many American academics writing on administrative topics, is *en clair*.

R. W. WRAITH

Administrative Law. by H. W. R. WADE, *Clarendon Press, Oxford;* 2nd Edition, pp. 338; 30s.

IT is not the author's purpose to provide a textbook but an explanatory account of the subject for the layman as well as the lawyer. The subject as here propounded consists mainly of the judicial control of administrative action and the procedural aspects of tribunals and inquiries, together with chapters on proceedings by and against the Crown and on delegated legislation. This is a traditional collection of topics, a concentration on matters of procedure and remedy – matters which have a general application across the whole field of administration. Whether administrative law is an apt title for this collection is perhaps a question which it is too late to dispute.

As an introduction to these matters, this edition is admirable and the concluding chapters on proceedings involving the Crown and on delegated legislation, where the author's efforts to avoid what he refers to as the book's tendency to turn itself into a text book have not altogether been attended with success, are of more lasting utility. Clarity of exposition and the skilful marshalling of material illumine the tangled case law of judicial control as they help to reduce to substance the disposition to cataloguing inherent in the subject matter of the chapters on tribunals and inquiries.

A particular merit of the book for this reviewer is that the chapters on judicial control are sufficiently detailed and discursive to enable, and to provoke, the new reader to respond in an informed and critical manner to the problems of the control of administrative action and the present solutions. This is traditionally considered the main theme, the pith as Professor Wade calls it, of administrative law – a preoccupation and attitude which the layman, to whom the book is in part addressed, will find revealing. Lawyers are accustomed to the treatment of law as a matter of remedies as distinct from substance, though they will tend to regard such treatment as the mark of an adolescent and unsystemized branch of the law. The layman, however, is unlikely to be so understanding. Administrative discretion is with us over a wide field whether we like it or not. Although the necessity for control in order to ensure that administrative authorities act within their powers and in good faith is unlikely to be disputed, the tribunician approach of the common law, with its stop-go characteristics and the erratic incidents of its various remedies, are not a particularly impressive contribution to ensuring that control. A start has been made to bring system into the procedures and

structures of tribunals and inquiries. Is there not an equal need to introduce some system into the substance and machinery of control? A start could be made with a common form petition of review to replace the present medley reminiscent of the jurisprudence of the forms of action? Emphasis on the ordinariness of the law of remedies is dangerously complacent.

P.F.

Tradition in African Beliefs; Traditional Religion and Christian Change; a Study in Sukumaland, Tanzania, East Africa, by RALPH E. S. TANNER; *Maryknoll Publications, Maryknoll, New York*, 1967, pp. xii, 256; $10.

IN 1962 the Maryknoll Fathers, who had recently taken over the Shinyanga diocese in Sukumaland from the White Fathers, invited Ralph Tanner, a former administrator turned anthropologist who knows the country and the people well, to write a book about the Sukuma which might be of use to them in their mission work. The volume under review is the result. It is thus a book with a purpose, based on a study "made in faith", and its final concern is not with Sukuma culture considered for its own sake, but with the practical problems and possibilities involved in bringing the Catholic faith to this large and important East African people.

However the first of the four Parts into which the book is divided deals, rather briefly, with "the traditional creed and cult of the Sukuma". They have a notion of a high god, but their religion, like that of many Bantu peoples, is mostly concerned with ancestral spirits. On Tanner's showing, there is some confusion in the way they think about these spirits. We are told on p. 16 that a man's ancestor spirits "look after him", give him "direct help", and provide "a generalized feeling of support and comfort", and on p. 39 that people naturally "have affection for the dead of the family" and that "there does not appear to be any fear of them". But on p. 21 we learn that "it does not seem that the ancestors are considered specifically as the protectors of the family" and "there is no question of loving" them; "they are feared rather than venerated". Presumably the confusion is in the Sukuma's mind rather than in the author's.

The other three Parts of the book, to which the first is an introduction, are concerned with the social situation of the Sukuma Christian, the relevance for him of Christian ritual, the ways in which such ritual might be better adapted to local custom and values, and the possible uses that the Church might make of elements of traditional Sukuma culture. As the author writes, "if the Christian truths are to be got home to any person in any culture, it can be done only in terms of that culture" (p. 91); and he has plenty of suggestions as to how this problem might be tackled in Sukumaland. Some of these seem eminently sensible, at least to a layman; here is a varied but by no means exhaustive selection of them: don't concentrate too much on baptism, especially of infants and children; don't attach too much importance to regular or punctual attendance at catechetical classes (farmers depend on ecology rather than clocks for the ordering of their daily activities); don't "dangerously extend" diocesan work; don't use small children as servers at mass (there's no analogue for such participation by juniors in Sukuma ritual); show more concern for specifically Sukuma needs and crises (tolerate harmless herbalism, stress harvest festivals and the blessing of crops and

cattle, have some churches open without walls – Sukuma rites take place out of doors); eat among and with the people – the priest should not be "an island of expatriate living"; come to terms with such locally important institutions as dance societies.

As anthropologist as well as Catholic, Professor Tanner is pleading for a greater identification with and incorporation of traditional values and practices by Catholic missionaries; as he says (and this is true of other places besides Sukumaland), "more people were aware of what the Church was against than what it was for". What he is advocating is "a religious practice which is Christian in function but Sukuma in form", as he says in the last sentence in his book. It is not for a layman to comment on the practicability of this aim, or on the degree to which some missionaries, both European and African, may already be seeking to realize it. Even though this thoughtful, interesting, sometimes diffuse book does not (and is not intended to) fill the shameful gap in East African ethnography represented by our almost total ignorance of Sukuma culture, it will make stimulating and often provocative reading for all who are concerned with the work of the Christian churches in Africa.

JOHN BEATTIE

Political Organization of Unyamwezi, by R. G. ABRAHAMS; *Cambridge University Press;* appendices and index; pp. 208; 50s.

IN its intelligently composed compactness Dr. Abrahams' book on the social and political structure of the Wanyamwezi packs invaluable elucidation of a tribal set-up much of which had been considerably reshaped to suit the demands of a colonial administration.

Unfortunately a great deal of the study can no longer be applied to the current local government system, for soon after independence tribal authorities (as Dr. Abrahams saw them) were dismantled, thus closing once and for all a fascinating era of indigenous institutions.

With the exception of his complex diagrammatic kinship terminology in Appendix I the book presents a searching and informative analysis easily digestable even by a casual reader.

Dr. Abrahams spent much of his study-time with one of the major dynasties – the Bakamba whose sphere of influence extends over a large number of chiefdoms. Other similar and influential dynasties not fully dealt upon in the book are the Nyangwira, the Konongo and the Garaganza, and also, the Sumbwa, who, though much akin to the Tusi, like the Kimbu to the South, have had considerable influence on the social and political evolution of Nyamwezi traditions. Nevertheless Dr. Abrahams' assessment is a sound one and can be applied to the whole of Greater Unyamwezi.

II

The Wanyamwezi are a Bantu group mostly inhabiting an area broadly referred to in ecological language as the Brachystegia Isoberlinia woodlands – the Miombo of Western Tanganyika.

To the world of science the Miombo forests are all too well known as the principal habitat of the tsetse fly – vector of sleeping sickness in man, of trypanosomiasis in cattle.

The Miombo forest thrives on a somewhat poor sandy soil which in some parts supports an unusual dense human and livestock population. It is largely within the Miombo forests that the main honey and beeswax production of Tanganyika takes place. The southern tip of the area – Ugala is famous for the black male sable.

The homogeneity of the tribe stems from the fact that the component groups speak, with certain modifications, closely related dialects collectively termed Kinyamwezi and possess living customs similar to one another.

The hard climatic environment encountered within the Miombo area is responsible for the sturdy nature of the people who long before the advent of mechanized transport were regarded as the indispensable "camels" of East Africa. It was the labour force from the area which was responsible for laying the railway line and establishing the big sisal estates in Tanganyika.

As to the presence of tsetse fly, the overall effect of sleeping sickness was in the breaking up of original centres of population whereby during severe outbreaks some chiefdoms lost their former independent status by being amalgamated into concentrated settlements such as Inyonga in Mpanda, where not infrequently petty jealousies and intrigue inhibited good and progressive administration by the inevitable failure for the area to secure a focal point of loyalty in the form of a paramount Chief acceptable to all the tribal sections concerned. The only exception being Unyanyembe – a large Chiefdom on its own account, where its small Garagawza chiefs concentrated in Ussinge and Kaliua sub-chiefdoms had to succumb to the tough and dominant administration of the Fundikiras.

III

The word Wanyamwezi literally means "Westerners" and owes its origin to a sub-group of the tribe the Sumbwa otherwise referred to as Wanamweli. Hence the current form – an innovation by Arab and Coastal Swahili travellers to mean "the people from the place of birth of the moon".

To an Nyamwezi tribesman the Miombo forest around his village was regarded as a vast and stimulating phenomenon from which sprang his unquenchable thirst for extensive travel.

The Miombo forest was vast in the sense that it provided the people with extra ground not only for shifting cultivation but also a safe hiding place in time of need. In the Miombo environment there developed a number of societies which specialized in specific community undertakings. Prominent amongst these organizations were the game and honey hunters, the snake and porcupine catchers, the Mizimu or spiritual brotherhood and the Wafumu – the Witch Doctors clan.

Whereas the hunters provided the community with game meat for the pot and honey for the manufacture of beer; the snake-catchers provided anti-snake bite medicine, the witch-doctors and allied societies not only scared away the devils but also gave medication to the sick in the form of potent charms and herbal power to cure diseases.

Every adult member was expected to join one set of these societies, each of which with its own secret code of conduct based on some inter-related *Taboos* which assisted in keeping the peace within the community.

Over and above these community activities there was of course the Mtemi – the Chief – administrator and landlord-in-chief whose superior status apart from his being a repository of traditional authority also rested in his belonging to communally accepted ancestors whose spirits were supposed to control all earthly activities.

Originally this chiefly class was confined to a group of persons belonging to inter-related clans of the Banyikulu (an abbreviation of Basese-Bikulu or "state-slaves"), citizens with a very superior social and political status different from ordinary subjects – the Bassengi (or tenants) who were originally free to move from Chiefdom to Chiefdom as they chose. Most Chiefdoms were small and intrigue was plentiful – bassengi could be a danger as well as an asset; the survival of a Chief for a long reign depended on his holding the balance of power with adequate forces of loyal citizens. The balance in his favour could disappear should a force of potentially hostile tenants side with his family opponents normally contenders for the "stool". Hence of necessity the population in a Chiefdom had to be wisely restricted to easily manageable proportions always predominated by loyal followers *vis-à-vis* potential dissidents.

It should be emphasized that under such prevailing circumstances the area of a Chiefdom in which effective one man control could be properly exercised was originally much smaller than that mapped out during the Colonial administration.

IV

Thus in its original pure form the social and political system of the Wanyamwezi was fundamentally and basically a feudalistic aristocracy based on selective and qualified democracy whereby as the best safeguard against excessive tyranny an ailing or cruel Chief was never permitted natural death but had to be speedily disposed of by strangulation. Likewise similarly disposed contenders to the stool had to be eliminated by being lured to "the presence", only to end up by being thrown into a pit to be buried alive!

CHIEF HAROUN LUGUSHA

Sources of Local Revenue, by S. N. H. HILDERSLEY and RAYMOND NOTTAGE; *Royal Institute of Public Administration*; pp. 52; 10s. 6d.

THIS volume contains the memorandum prepared by The Royal Institute of Public Administration for the Royal Commission on Local Government.

The authors consider various possible sources for augmenting the revenues of local authorities, and look with favour on the possibilities of the duties on non-commercial vehicles, driving licences, motor fuel tax, local income tax (notwithstanding costly administration and the likely need for direct collection by local authorities) and on urban traffic charges. Purchase tax, sales taxes, value-added taxes, alcohol and tobacco taxes, betting and gambling taxes, and the betterment levy are not considered likely starters for local government purposes.

Inter alia attention is drawn to the extent upon which dependence on property occupation rates concentrates rateable values in London and the South East (almost 50 per cent).

The proposals indicate a means of providing buoyancy for local revenue and of diminishing exchequer grants from a controlling interest of 47 per cent to a modest 14 per cent. The argument is convincingly put in the final paragraph. The reason for strengthening a local authority's own resources is political, based on the value of local government as a political institution. To be effective the keen interest of electors must be aroused and this will not be done by authorities surrendering responsibilities and hiding behind exchequer grants. The interest needed "would be stimulated among the local electors by public discussion and public decision-taking on the rates of a range of local taxes". The authors would like to see local budget day one of drama and excitement. We now wait to see if the Royal Commission agrees.

P.H.J.

Agricultural Planning in East Africa. Ed. G. K. HELLEINER, *East Africa Publishing House, Nairobi*; pp.183; 15s. (E.A.).

THE last ten years has seen an upsurge of economic planning in all three East African countries with substantial increases in government planning staffs. This book is a record of a conference, held in April 1967 on "Agricultural planning in East Africa", which was sponsored by the East African Economics Society.

Here is no blue-print on how to plan agriculture. Rather is it a book containing the thoughts and experiences of professional men who are feeling their way in a new field, namely the economic approach to planning agricultural development in East Africa, a sphere in which the analytical techniques of the economist are comparatively new.

Inevitably the planning process, like the agriculture itself, is shown to be a developing field in which ideas are being tried, sometimes proved useful, but often found to be beset with problems out of which have grown further ideas, and the picture emerges of a continuing process of improvement in planning techniques.

In the main the papers presented to the conference show how the economist is struggling to make his contribution in the relative absence of the main tool of his trade – Data. Agricultural policies of the past have been based more upon experienced guesswork and political considerations than upon the economist's analysis of facts and figures. To-day statistical records are increasingly being built up and as they become available the economist is able to use them to indicate the most profitable way in which to direct policy.

The first part of the book is devoted to papers on agricultural planning in each of the three East African countries. They reflect very much the limitations imposed on the current economic development plans by the lack of factual data, and as such at first sight they appear somewhat negative. But this does little justice to their writers. They contain a wealth of experience of great use to those engaged in such work.

The second part of the book is, in a sense, more positive. It consists of five papers on specific aspects of agricultural development which show how the economist, increasingly armed with data, can and is pointing the way for better planned development.

The first on Extension, Education and Research admirably shows how these services can be improved by an increasing degree of economic appraisal

of their contribution. The second on Mechanization is devoted mainly to discussion on the introduction of tractors to a small-holder farming pattern, and it does much to define the pitfalls of too rapid expansion.

The third paper, on Settlement in Kenya, deals with the rather special problems of settling a small-holder population on a planned basis on to former large commercial farms. The fourth on Credit in Tanzania describes the experience gained in administering credit to large numbers of small farmers through their Cooperatives. And the fifth on Coffee Policies discusses the problems arising out of the present world over-production of coffee and the International Coffee Agreement.

The book is well worth studying by all workers in the field of agricultural planning in the less developed countries, whether they be in East Africa or not.

ARTHUR HAMERSLEY

Other Books Received

THE BUSINESS OF DEVELOPMENT, by DONALD TYERMAN and ERNEST PARSONS; *Overseas Development Institute, London*; pp. 19; 10s.

CONSULTANCY IN OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT, by CHARLES YOUNG; *Overseas Development Institute, London*; pp. 39; 10s.

With two new small and very readable publications O.D.I. continue in their valuable role of keeping the British public—or at any rate those in any way concerned or interested in the Third World, aware of the need and justification for rich nations to help those less fortunate than themselves. Donald Tyerman sums up the dialogue of an international conference convened by O.D.I. in May, 1968, to discuss the outcome of U.N.C.T.A.D.II at New Delhi, and attended principally by businessmen but also by national and international civil servants, and by academics. Ernest Parsons sums up U.N.C.T.A.D.II—no impressive successes expected or achieved, some decisions reached on trade which, if followed by effective political action to ensure international implementation, will further the economic development of less developed nations besides, most importantly, keeping the dialogue going between rich and poor and making the prospects of an U.N.C.T.A.D.III full of hopeful possibilities, instead of being perhaps stillborn had the Delhi discussions ended in absolute deadlock.

Charles Young reports the findings of a Group from the private sector in Britain which was brought together by O.D.I. to consider the role of consultancy in overseas development. The advantages to be obtained from the use of consultants, how to choose and what to avoid are clearly set out and this Guide for the engagement of consultants will certainly repay study in the planning ministries of many developing countries.

CONFLICTING IMAGES OF THE MILITARY IN AFRICA, by KENNETH W. GRUNDY; *East African Publishing House, Nairobi*, 1968; pp. 57; 4s. 6d.

The author lists 23 successful military coups that were instrumental in bringing about a change of Government in twelve African countries, 22 attempted such coups that failed in fourteen countries besides some 30 planned military coups which the governments of eighteen countries announced that they had thwarted. Military coups always hit the headlines and the general impression created is one of recurrent military take-overs. The fact that only in a dozen states have military coups succeeded needs emphasis. Nonetheless there have been far too many military attempts to overthrow constitutional government and Dr. Grundy provides in his monograph an interesting study of what can be described as the philosophy of the military coup. The danger of course lies in the ease with which a few soldiers in an African State (and on other continents as well) can overthrow an existing regime—as often as not with no clear idea what to do with the reins of power once thay have been seized.

POLITICS OF INTEGRATION, Ed. DONALD ROTHCHILD; *East African Publishing House, Nairobi*; bibliography and tables; pp. 343; 25s. (E.A.)

The editor has assembled a great deal of material and provided commentaries on the history of East African integration from the nineteen twenties to the establishment of the East African Community in 1967. His selections provide much interesting reading and to have collated the history, politics and economics of "closer union" in a single volume will ease the task of students of modern East Africa. The lesson learnt so far would seem to be that a gradually worked out and fully agreed system of economic co-operation stands a far better chance of lasting success than a political Union which in the shape of most post-war Federations, politics by their very personalised nature, have tended to destroy. As Dr. Rothchild concludes in his introduction "the most effective federalists of the present era may well be those who shun the lures of the political kingdom. Such an approach may lack drama, but results are what matters most".

FREETOWN—A SYMPOSIUM, Ed. CHRISTOPHER FYFE and ELDRED JONES; *University Press, Sierra Leone. Oxford University Press, London*; maps, plates, index; pp. 232; 42s.

In December 1966 a Symposium was held at Fourah Bay College, Sierra Leone at which the past, present and future of Freetown was examined in depth. This excellently produced volume provides fifteen background papers presented at the Symposium ranging widely over the historical, social, economic and cultural problems of the capital city which has emerged from the original Granville Sharp settlement of freed slaves. In their introduction the editors draw attention to the division that emerged between keen planners on the one hand and their audience on the other, and they read into this a warning "that planning imposed from above can only be effective if understood and accepted willingly by those whose lives are being planned"—in practice however much has often to be accepted that is not fully understood and there lies the nub.

THE FULANI EMPIRE OF SOKOTO, by H. A. S. JOHNSTON, *Oxford University Press*; index; pp. 295; 55s.

The late Tim Johnston's most memorable period of work in Northern Nigeria was in Sokoto Province in the fifties. This, in retrospect, was the twilight period of the second Fulani empire, destined to come to a savage and violent end in January 1966.

This book, devoted to the first Fulani empire, is a first class piece of narrative history, detailed and fascinating. It is, perhaps, at present of interest mainly to scholars and those of the author's colleagues who also became interested in the minutiae of local history that he so faithfully searched out, weighed and recorded. But in the future, this book is sure to provide invaluable background material for those who try to put into true perspective the unhappy events of the last two years in Nigeria.

EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT, Ed. JAMES R. SHEFFIELD; *East African Publishing House*; pp. 499; 15s. (E.A.).

This volume contains the proceedings of the Kericho Conference of September 1966, at which the particular problems of rural development in Kenya were examined by policy makers, administrators and academics and representatives from Aid agencies, from East Africa, Britain, Denmark, France, India, Nigeria and the U.S.A.

AN AFRICAN SEASON, by LEONARD LEVITT; *Jonathan Cape, London*; pp. 223; 25s.

This is a Peace Corps member's account of his time in Tanzania and of his holiday visit to Rhodesia and South Africa. A young liberal-minded teacher, he clearly found much of the latter distasteful, particularly White attitudes. This might lead the general reader to suppose that the Tanzanian experiences he recounts are objective and fair. In fact they are parody—indeed burlesque, of the whole educational system as operated at Mpuguso—a school with a high and well-deserved reputation that none could discern from this narrative.

EDUCATIONAL PLANNING IN THE U.S.S.R.; *Unesco*; *International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris*, 1968; pp. 295; 36s.

Four Soviet writers and an international study mission of eleven members have produced under the direction of Dr. Philip Coombs a full authoritative picture of the educational system of the Soviet Union at all levels, the educational planning policy and procedure, supported by a series of explanatory tables. All those concerned with the development of education will find the study of this volume very much worth while.

LES MARCHES PUBLICS DANS LES PAYS ENVOIE DE DEVELOPPEMENT, by ROLAND ZIEGEL; *Armand Colin, Paris*; with appendices, pp. 322.

M. Ziegel has produced a French manual for officials in developing countries responsible for public markets, countries where as, he writes, development is the main objective of the Government and all advice given to public administrators must be directed to this end.

THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF MONGOLIA, by A. J. K. SANDERS, *Oxford University Press*, 1968; maps; index; bibliography; pp. 232; 45s.

This book is a general reference guide to Mongolia—the first of its kind in English. A remarkable miscellany of information has been collated—historical, economic and cultural. The champion archers and wrestlers are noted, advice to intending British exporters is provided and two useful maps are included.

THE CENTRAL STRUCTURE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, by IBN HASAN; *Oxford University Press*, 1968; bibliography; index; 30s.

The publishers have reprinted the late Ibn Hasan's history of the Mughal Empire and the detailed account of the administrative system and the close control maintained by industrious rulers provides a remarkably clear picture of central government in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE, Ed. G. E. PERREN, *Cambridge University Press*, 1968; bibliography; pp. 233; 32s. 6d.

The nine contributors to this study on training teachers of English draw on a wealth of personal experience gained in Britain and in a large number of countries overseas. Here is a volume that should be read by teacher-trainers and by policy makers in departments of education in those overseas countries where English is a second language or widely used and taught.

YOU AND YOUR COMMUNITY, published for the Local Government Information Office by *Educational Productions*; Illus.; pp. 48; 3s. 6d.

A small excellently produced introduction to Local Government in Britain providing basic facts that every citizen should know.

CORRIGENDA

Quarterly Notes: (a) JULY ISSUE, 1968

We are grateful to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, Zambia for drawing to our attention that the new name for *Bancroft* is *Chilalabombwe* (*not* Chiliabombwe) and for *Fort Rosebery, Mansa* (*not* Mbila). We are also advised that *Fort Jameson* has now become *Chipata*.

(b) OCTOBER ISSUE, 1968

In our reference to the Crown Agents, the new Chairman, Mr. C. J. Hayes was referred to in error as Mr. E. C. Hayes.

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